

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE unofficial but nearly complete returns from the October elections substantiate the Republican claims made on the morning after the contest, though they seemed at the time extravagant. With one county only estimated, the plurality for the Ohio State ticket is 22,000; Townsend, who headed it, having a trifle less than 19,000, and running behind because of his strict temperance views. In Indiana Porter's plurality is 7,545, with the entire State heard from. We have seen no evidence that Landers ran very largely behind his associates, by the way, which argues, of course, that his unpopularity was either fictitious or condoned, or that it affected the whole ticket. The Ohio Congressional delegation will stand 15 Republicans to 20 Democrats, and the Indiana 9 to 4—a gain of 6 in the first instance and of 3 in the second. The Indiana Legislature shows a Republican majority of 14, instead of the Democratic majority of 26 in the last body, and will elect a Republican successor to Senator McDonald. The Democrats lost some ground in West Virginia also, though probably not as much as the Republican assertion that the majority is but 8,000 implies. A "straw" of some significance, perhaps, as to New Jersey, is the Newark charter election, which took place the same day, and resulted in a Republican majority of 2,200 and gain of 5,700. It seems probable that the next Congress will be Republican in both branches, by very narrow majorities.

General Hancock's first deliverance on the tariff question was so dark, not to say mystical, that it not unnaturally alarmed his supporters, and probably contributed in some degree to the Republican victory in Indiana. Mr. Randolph, of New Jersey, therefore felt it necessary to ask him for an explanation of it, on the ground that it was misreported or "imperfectly understood." To this General Hancock has made answer that he is "too sound an American to advocate any departure from the general features of a policy which has been largely instrumental in building up our industries"; that "we must raise revenue in some way or other"; that "the necessity of raising money for the administration of the Government will continue as long as human nature lasts"; that the best way to raise revenue "is largely by the tariff," and that, therefore, "so far as we are concerned, all talk about free-trade is folly." He then suggests that "some such bill as Eaton's" will probably treat the tariff question with "justice to all our interests," and he recommends a revision of the present tariff by a "commission of intelligent experts." We need hardly say that this is nearly as mysterious as the interview. The revenue which will be called for "as long as human nature lasts" might be raised, as in England, on four or five articles, none of them products of native industry. This would be a "tariff for revenue only," such as the Democrats call for, but would not be a "tariff for protection," such as the Republicans call for; and the only indication we get of General Hancock's preference in the matter lies in his assertion that he is "too sound an American to advocate departure from the general features of a policy which has been largely instrumental in building up our industries." But then the convention which nominated him was either composed of unsound Americans or did advocate a departure from what we suppose he means by "the general features of the policy," etc. But why go farther in analyzing what defies analysis? The general's views on the tariff are not, we firmly believe, to be got at by any purely human agency, and his second utterance needs explanation fully as much as the first.

Any how, the tariff is what seems to have done the work for the Republicans in Indiana. There were other agencies, but the tariff was the principal one, and the "Solid South" was apparently not among the number. In fact, the "Solid South" has been virtually returned to the arsenal as a useless weapon. The gain of this to the country, no matter what one's views about the tariff may be, is immense. The continual

denunciation of the South, to the neglect of all other topics, was a sort of political hypochondria, like that of a man who passes his time considering and talking about his own ailments. Nothing will do more to promote the cause of order and law at the South than the growth of healthy interest at the North in other subjects than Southern wickedness, because in this interest the Southern people will soon come, through the force of events, to participate. They cannot, however, join any party in any common pursuit whose orators make denunciation of the whole Southern community the staple of their speeches. We commend to those who have, during the past four years, been disposed to condemn our incredulity about "outrages," the total disappearance of them from this canvass. They must surely see now that if the state of the South had been what the Republican orators represented it in 1876, 1878, and 1879, it could not have so changed for the better that in 1880 there is no need to speak of outrages at all. There has been no mention in this canvass even of the Chisholm murder, or of the assault on the postmaster at Blackville, both good old seasoned outrages which have been in use in two canvasses without a sign of wear, and could very well have done good service in this one. We therefore advise every Stalwart to retire to his closet and ask himself why it is there was so much uproar about Southern atrocities down to last year, and why it suddenly stopped this year. If he answers this question candidly, truthfully, and after thorough heart-searching, not only will a great light come in on his mind, but he will issue forth a much more cheerful, agreeable, and useful Republican than he ever was before, and a more satisfactory person in all the relations of life.

We beg to call attention to an interesting letter on the evolution of the Indiana campaign which will be found in another column. It is very instructive in more ways than one, and both illustrates and corroborates our remarks on the same subject last week. One reason why both parties avoid financial and economical topics is that discussion of them would involve the loss of the services on the stump of many of their great men. It is, moreover, to be said for General Harrison, whose course our correspondent criticises in the Indiana campaign, that a man of sense who takes the stump has to follow the lines marked out by the committees for others. The same "thunder" is served out to all, and failure to use it is not well received at "headquarters." Mr. Schurz, whose speeches are always those of a rational man addressed to rational men, is notoriously not in favor in committee-rooms, and is freely sworn at by every Republican blatherskite and trickster. We have little doubt the present campaign, however, will result in the purchase by the Republicans of an entirely new outfit and the sale of the "Solid South," with other condemned stores, to the junk-dealers.

The result in Indiana has excited a great deal of sympathy, even among the victors, for such recent converts to the Democratic party as General Butler and Colonel Forney. General Butler's case is the sadder of the two, because his object in going over was, he says, to enable him to give more effective aid to the suffering negro. His disappointment, therefore, must reach his very vitals, and we fear may permanently sour a very rich nature. Since his return, however, from Indiana, where he has been stumping, he has, with characteristic cheerfulness and philosophy, ascribed the defeat to frauds which cannot, he thinks, be repeated in November, when the State will surely be carried by the Democrats. Colonel Forney's case is not so pathetic, both because he does not mix philanthropy with his politics, and because, like the cheerful man that he is, when he finds he has taken a wrong road he always comes back to the fork and tries the other, so that his happiness is assured in any case. Now that he finds the Democrats are not going to win he will doubtless join the Republicans once more. The Colonel is a good man, too, loves righteousness, and thinks the big battalions always have the best stock of it on hand.

Both National Committees have issued addresses. That of the Republicans is of course a whoop of triumph. That of the Democrats is more interesting, as giving an explanation of the disaster by those whom

it has overtaken. They acknowledge "surprise" and "disappointment," but say the Republicans were as much surprised as they were. The "causes" of the calamity were: the "Africanization" of the State by the Republicans; the corrupt use of money; the importation and use of repeaters; and the aid derived "from the use of the Federal machinery of elections, under pretence of supervising the election of members of Congress." Still, they take a hopeful view of the future. The "corruption fund" will now have to be divided among many States; the repeaters will go home, and those who were arrested but discharged by the United States marshals on straw bail will not care to come back, and the Federal machinery will not be at work. In fact, they seem to expect that the Republicans will in November find no way of carrying out their wicked designs. This, however, is almost too sanguine a view, and we do not see how men so familiar with the variety of forms taken by human depravity, and with its persistence and ingenuity, as Messrs. Barnum and English must be, can look for any such sudden triumph of virtue.

The latest returns of the Georgia election indicate that the total Democratic vote cast for the subordinate officers on the State ticket was 75,000; that Mr. Norwood, the anti-machine candidate for governor, received 50,000, and that Governor Colquitt owed his majority of 55,000 and upwards to white and black Republican votes to the number of at least 30,000. The Columbus *Enquirer* conjectures that Norwood had the greater white vote, but of course cannot argue the point and admits the existence of an opposite belief. Whichever view be the right one, it is certain that thousands of negroes voted for Colquitt for reasons best known to themselves. The *Times* correspondent at Atlanta says fully 65,000 black voters took advantage of the split among the Democrats to resume the privilege of voting with safety, and at such a price as the Colquitt faction was willing to pay for their support. What is remarkable is that the volunteering and bargaining in Colquitt's favor went on in face of the circulation by the Norwood party of a so-called "Convict Catechism," intended to reach and deter this very class of voters by reminding them of the cruelties of the convict chain-gang system in Georgia, of Governor Colquitt's indifference to them, and of Senator Norwood's lively sensibility to the disgrace which the system brings upon the State. It also held up Governor Colquitt's pardon of white murderers of unoffending blacks, and neglect to see justice done when the victims were poor, but it strikingly failed of its end. The incident shows that in the breaking of the color line lies the guarantee of negro suffrage, as we have always contended, and that there is no predicting how this suffrage will be bestowed in any election from which exotic distinctions like "Republican" and "Democratic" are eliminated.

Mr. Conkling has been "supporting the ticket" with so much zeal and energy, though on the tariff issue mainly, in Indiana, and in this way is making his conduct in this campaign so much of a contrast to his conduct in the Hayes campaign and to his sulky attitude when Mr. Garfield was in New York, that it is reported that he must have concluded a satisfactory "bargain" with the Republican candidate. Even his own most devoted followers do not pretend that he would work in this way from a mere sense of the importance of Republican success to the suffering negro or to the country at large. Mr. Garfield has, however, given emphatic assurances that he will make no bargain or promises of the kind which Mr. Conkling most delights in; so that we have before us the alternative of believing that Mr. Garfield has been making false representations, or that Mr. Conkling's friends do him injustice when they admit that he never really "works" in a canvass until he knows what his pay is to be. Of course, the latter is the conclusion to which we must all joyfully come. What has roused Mr. Conkling must be his sympathy with the black man, his dread of a "Solid South," and his anxiety about the future of American industry.

The process of freeing the editorial mind, which always follows a Presidential contest, has already begun in consequence of the Indiana reverse. The New York *Sun* has restrained itself a good while, but at last it sees no use in "a public journal in a political canvass that discusses everything save the real, live issues before the people," and it gives way to its long-time "irresistible impulse to handle this Hancock and

Garfield campaign without gloves." What it means by this figure presently appears when it calls its party an ass for dispensing with Tilden, General Hancock "a good man, weighing two hundred and fifty pounds," and English an odious skinflint, who has, however, "generously given his name to the ticket." Still, the *Sun* is bound to see a final ray of hope, and urges Democrats to fresh exertions, on the singular ground that "our candidates, then (!), will answer." The same paper puts another load off its conscience by asserting with double-leaded bluntness that the rebels will never rule if General Hancock is elected, and that the Unionists who conquered in the Rebellion "will for ever hereafter control and conduct the American Government." These truths it has evidently suppressed too long, for the Independents and Democrats yet under the spell of the brigadier bugbear are vigorously exhorted to vote for an Administration which "will be as free from the rule of rebels as from the rule of the Czar of all the Russias."

Another admirable speech from Mr. Schurz at the Cooper Union on Tuesday evening confirmed his eminence in this campaign for genuine political oratory. The most valuable portion of it was his review of the Southern question as affected by the October elections, which was couched in the ideal language of the "Republican emissary at the South." His words deserve to be reproduced in every Southern paper, and pondered by every Southern politician and voter. He denied the existence of any peculiarly Southern grievance, and advised the people of that section that if power is their object "the only way for them to obtain it will be for them to look at the interests they have in common with the rest of the country more than at the interests which they erroneously think to be peculiar to them as the South." Sentences like these it is a pity to shorten:

"The people of the South may be sure that the people of the North cherish no ill-will towards them. . . . If by Republican politicians demonstrations of such feelings seem to be made it is mere stage-thunder. . . . In fact, the Southern people have had no greater enemy than the Democratic party. . . . It is my candid opinion that nothing better can happen to them than another striking demonstration of the futility of all the efforts of the Democratic party to obtain the possession of national power as long as that party is constituted and managed as it is now. That demonstration, sweeping away those disturbing illusions I have spoken of, will be apt to bring the South to a clear sense of the actual state of things."

A curious correspondence between Senator Wade Hampton and Mr. John Sherman has been published. Mr. Sherman was reported to have said in a speech that the North was asked to "surrender all it had done into the hands of Wade Hampton and the Ku-klux, and the little segment in the North which is called the Democratic party." Wade Hampton asked if he meant by this "to connect him directly or indirectly with what was known as the Ku-klux Klan." By the Ku-klux Klan Mr. Wade Hampton evidently meant the armed organization known by that name some ten years ago, which committed outrages by night on political opponents, and accordingly thought he had "cornered" Mr. Sherman. But Mr. Sherman was much too smart for him. On being called to account he acknowledged that Mr. Hampton had not been personally connected with the Ku-klux Klan, and that he knew that "he [Hampton] had, in one or two instances, resisted and defeated its worst impulses." But he then enlarged the term "Ku-klux Klan" so as to make it cover actual crimes of every grade in the code of crimes, from murder to the meanest form of ballot-box-stuffing, committed since 1870 down to this date in South Carolina, and then based the power of the Democrats at the South on these crimes, and by making Wade Hampton as Senator the product of this power, proved him substantially a member of the Ku-klux Klan, and the triumph of Hancock a delivery of the United States Government to the Klan. Mr. Sherman's letter is an amusing piece of conglomerative argument, and was evidently too much for Wade Hampton, for his reply was that the Secretary of the Treasury "had uttered what was false, and what he knew to be false." This is stupid. If he had had a little patience and ingenuity he might have worked out a beautiful counter demonstration, showing that Mr. Sherman was the partner and confederate of a large gang of Louisiana cheats and swindlers and perjurers. The literary and rhetorical weakness of the Democrats in this canvass is pitiable.

The managers of the "Ladies' Deposit Company," the Boston swindle of which we spoke a fortnight ago, have been lodged in jail, and the sheriff is in possession of such assets of the concern as can be found. The suffering caused by the bursting of the bubble is probably very great, but in most cases will be concealed. The "President" now weeps and says there were a number of men behind her whom she does not know, and who paid her one hundred dollars a month for her management, and used to come every evening and carry off the day's deposits in a basket. That this story has some foundation is not unlikely. The affair has been very remarkable, for reasons we recently gave, but it has been made more remarkable still within the past week by a passionate defence of the "bank" from Gail Hamilton, addressed to the *Boston Advertiser*. This lady's contention is in substance that the swindle, if swindle it be (which she does not admit), is no worse than those which men, including managers of savings-banks, are every day perpetrating, and that those who exposed it are responsible for the loss which has overtaken the depositors, inasmuch as it was owing to this exposure that the institution for the first time failed to meet the demands upon it. She therefore calls upon the editor to give his note of hand, with interest at eight per cent. a month, for two hundred dollars, with which she had been entrusted by a poor Southern woman, and which she invested in the "Ladies' Deposit." The letter reads a little like a burlesque, but is evidently seriously meant. It would form an interesting appendix to the series of letters against civil-service reform which Gail Hamilton published in the *Tribune* three or four years ago. But bad as those were they did not prepare one for this defence of Mrs. Howe's bank.

Colonel Higginson has apologized for the depositors in the bank on the ground of their ignorance of financial matters—ignorance which is fostered both by the kind of education women receive and by the way in which their male relatives treat them in all money matters. This is doubtless in the great majority of cases a sound plea, but it cannot be made to cover Gail Hamilton's. It is hardly possible that a woman who has for some years pursued political and social essay-writing as an occupation, and who has recently in a book advocated the abolition of the public higher education, can be ignorant that there is no honest banking which can pay 96 per cent. per annum on deposits. It is consequently difficult to avoid the conclusion that she knew that the earlier depositors in Mrs. Howe's bank would be paid out of funds supplied by the later ones, and that when she invested her Southern friend's money in it it was with the hope of getting it out again at the expense of other speculators before the inevitable crash came. Undoubtedly plenty of male essayists and politicians are capable of making investments of this sort, but we have not yet heard of one who has had the audacity to come out in print in defence of such a speculation and in denunciation of those who exposed it. Gail Hamilton's performance is important as touching the expectation of many that the entrance of women into the political arena would exert a purifying influence on politics, and we wish Colonel Higginson would discuss it from this point of view.

The Democratic factions in this city have, after long deliberation and a good deal of wrangling, agreed upon the candidates for county offices to be chosen next month. Their conferences have been conducted on the lowest plane of politics and in the main by a vulgar order of politicians, and of course a common self-distrust quite as much as any interest in the good effects of their union upon the party at large has produced their concert. The mayoralty was naturally the chief office in dispute, and the withdrawal of Mr. Schell, whose close intimacy with John Kelly rendered him especially objectionable, affords matter for congratulation. But whether the nomination of Mr. W. R. Grace is in this respect much better seems extremely doubtful. Of all the names presented by Irving Hall to Tammany he seems to have been by far the most satisfactory, and he is reported to be an intimate friend of Cardinal McCloskey, who is a near connection of Mr. Kelly. So far as we are aware, nothing is known to his discredit, though the *Times* refers to his connection with the receivership of the bankrupt Continental Life Insurance Company, and says significantly that it "will be investigated and reported in due time." He is a "business man," no politi-

cian, has made a reputation for philanthropy, and is an Irish Roman Catholic. The city has never had a Catholic mayor, nor since colonial times, we believe, one who was not a native, and both these circumstances are likely to be heard from on the local stump.

We trust no more weight will be attached to them, however, than campaign necessities absolutely demand, not only because in this city such an argument would be sure to prove a boomerang, but because hostility to what is perfectly constitutional and, superficially at least, perfectly safe is sure to affect the sensitiveness of those thus attacked in a way to intensify whatever tendencies they may have that are objected to. If the history of the Roman Catholic question proves anything it is that aggressive Protestant timidity is certain to be taken for bigotry, and resisted with all the force of a sincere sense of wrong. There is, moreover, abundant reason for opposing Mr. Grace on other grounds. The hope of improved administration in local government here rests almost wholly in the chance of the election by hook or by crook of some thoroughly independent mayor, as the first beginnings of reform must proceed from better appointments. Talk of a mayor with a responsible party behind him is idle, there being no "responsible party" of any sort in the city. The *Times's* suggestion that the Republicans select some good Democrat to run against Mr. Grace seems sensible to us; but after our experience with Mr. Cooper—a mayor of conspicuously good intentions and of conspicuous ill-success in executing them—this needs to be supplemented by advice for the selection of fit aldermen; otherwise, the Republican machine, which is to the full as bad as either of the Democratic ones, may be relied upon to balk all the reforming efforts of the mayor by a Common Council alliance, as it has done in the case of Mayor Cooper.

Following the elections in Ohio and Indiana, United States 4 and 4½ per cent. bonds advanced in market price about 2 per cent. As the outstanding issue of these bonds is about one thousand million of dollars the advance represents an increase in the market value of this form of the public credit of about \$20,000,000 in a single week, and for the most part in the two days after the result of these elections became known. Railroad securities of all kinds also advanced in price largely, and Stock Exchange speculation was buoyant. In the trade markets there was also some improvement in prices, and the reason generally given was a restoration of public confidence. Foreign specie continues to flow to this country, although the receipts during the last week were smaller than of late, namely, \$2,831,799, making the total since the beginning of August \$34,451,556, against \$44,400,417 last year; and \$39,600,429 since January 1 last, against \$50,571,695 during the corresponding period in 1879. The business of the country—general trade and transportation—continues large, so that it may be said that at present there is a good prospect of an abundance of money.

The news from Europe is unusually meagre. The Porte has agreed to surrender Dulcigno unconditionally, and commissioners were appointed on the part of the Porte and Montenegro, respectively, to arrange the matter; but when they came together it was found that Riza Pasha raised new difficulties, touching not simply the form but the substance, and at this writing the surrender has not taken place and the Montenegrins are still in doubt as to whether when they proceed to take possession they will not be attacked by the Albanians. It appears to be certain, however, that when the surrender does take place the German and Austrian and French fleets will go home; and if Mr. Gladstone chooses to menace the Turks on the Greek question he will have only the co-operation of Italy and Russia to count upon. Germany is said to be more and more nervous about the consequences of pushing the matter any further.

In France the decrees against the religious orders are being steadily executed. The Carmelites have just been ousted and the evil day is not far off for the others. The Bonapartists have begun again to show some signs of life by asking Prince Napoleon to receive a deputation which is to request him to resign the succession in favor of his son Prince Victor; but he has answered by refusing to receive it and requesting the concoctors of the movement to mind their own business.

THE LESSON OF THE OCTOBER ELECTIONS.

THE October elections have not absolutely settled the result of the Presidential election, but they have made it almost certain. Even if the Democrats carry New York, it now seems in the highest degree improbable that they will be able to get the twelve votes which will still be necessary to give them the Presidency. If they cannot get them from Indiana they are still less likely to get them from Connecticut or New Jersey, the remaining two doubtful States. Moreover, the majority in Ohio is not only large but unexpectedly large, and the majority in Indiana is also very large, considering that the Republicans had very good reason to fear that they would there have no majority at all, or, at best, only as many hundreds as they actually have thousands. They are, of course, very exultant, and with good reason, and will go to the polls in November with a well-founded assurance of victory. In a time of exultation men are naturally enough not much disposed for reflection, and yet the occasion is one in which a little reflection on some of the facts which the late State elections have made prominent may be very profitable, even in the short interval which now separates us from the Presidential election.

The most prominent of these facts is this: that during the eight years of General Grant's Presidency, which all the practical politicians of the Republican party highly approved of and considered, from the party point of view, admirably conducted, the party went on steadily losing ground at the polls until, in 1876, it had ceased to control the House of Representatives, and was aware that it would in the next Congress cease to control the Senate. It would have lost the Presidency but for practices in three Southern States which most people now admit to have been at least questionable. It lost at the Presidential election New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana, and Mr. Hayes only carried his own State of Ohio by the very small plurality of 7,516. It must be borne in mind that during the previous eight years the machinery of the Federal Government was managed just as Messrs. Conkling, Blaine, Morton, Logan, Chandler, and the other Republican chiefs thought it ought to be managed. General Grant was, in fact, their ideal President, and his policy, in all that concerned the party interest, was in their eyes hardly capable of improvement. Mr. Conkling had control of the New York Custom-house, and General Butler, during the latter part of the Grant Administration, of the Boston Custom-house. The civil service in all its branches was freely and undisguisedly used for the furtherance of the party interests. There was nothing "goody-goody" in the management of it. The South, too, was kept in the condition which Mr. Blaine thought most important—that is, the States were governed by bands of Northern politicians, whose authority was supported by the interference of the Federal troops.

When Mr. Hayes came into office this policy was changed. All Federal interference, or threat of interference, or assertion of right to interfere, at the South was abandoned. In his distribution of patronage at the South there was much to condemn, of which we have often spoken in these columns. But this first fault committed, the system of using the Federal patronage for the purposes of active electioneering was abandoned. Mr. Conkling was deprived of his custom-house; General Butler was deprived of his. As a general rule the use of the offices for partisan purposes was taken away from members of both Houses. There have been exceptions to this rule, and some perhaps rather flagrant ones, but on the whole there was a marked change from the Grant régime, a change so great as to disgust and alienate every politician of much prominence in the party, and cause the two most prominent—Messrs. Conkling and Blaine—to break off all relations with the President and Cabinet, and to refer to them in public only in terms of reproach or contempt. Pains were taken at Republican State conventions to make all reference to the Administration in the platforms either slighting or cold, on the ground that it had in some manner betrayed the party or proved indifferent to its interests, and the eulogies on General Grant were often so worded as to serve the purpose of a condemnation of his successor. Nor was there any sign of an abatement of this hostility as time went by. It is only three weeks since Mr. Conkling opened the present canvass in this State by a speech in which a carefully-framed insult to President Hayes was a leading feature.

We have not been backward ourselves in condemning President Hayes's policy with regard to the reform of the civil service. We have considered it, judged by the standard set up in his letter of acceptance, both inconsistent and vacillating, and as regards the use made of the offices at the South after his election as something worse than inconsistent and vacillating. But the fault we have found with it is that he has not gone further towards fulfilling his own promises. The fault found with it by Messrs. Conkling and Blaine and the other "practical men" is that he should have made any such promises at all, and have gone any distance whatever towards fulfilling them. They do not judge him by the standard he set up, but by their own standard—that is, the Administration of General Grant. They have held that in so far as his principles and practice differed from those of General Grant he was wrong, and wrought injury to the party; that his Administration was, in short, an evil for which the proper cure was another term of General Grant, or of a man such as Mr. Blaine, who would follow General Grant's methods.

Now, how do we know whether an administration is injurious to the party or not? How do we know what the party feels, or thinks, or desires, or, in short, in what condition the party is? Solely by the elections. All indications, as has been proved a hundred times, except the vote at the polls, are deceptive. The opinions and prophecies of newspapers and individual politicians are at every election shown to be erroneous. In fact, it may be said that for all practical purposes the party exists, is visible, and submits itself to examination only on election-day. What Mr. Conkling says, or Mr. Blaine says, or Mr. Logan says is of no sort of consequence unless it is confirmed by the vote. The vote shows whether the party is gaining strength or declining, and nothing else does show it conclusively. Judged by this test, and judged, too, from the managing politicians' point of view, Mr. Hayes's Administration has been curiously successful. It found the Republican party so weakened and discredited that it had lost fourteen States and the control of Congress, and only succeeded in retaining its hold on the Presidency by what its adversaries considered a fraud. Under it the Republicans have been gradually regaining their ascendancy in Congress, and the last election of Mr. Hayes's term will probably, indeed almost certainly, restore it completely. It has increased the majorities in the States in which under General Grant it barely escaped defeat. It has "carried" Indiana by the largest majority since 1872, a problem to which General Grant gave much attention but to which his tactics were never quite equal. It has caused Ohio to pronounce for General Garfield by a plurality three times as large as that which it gave Mr. Hayes himself. Of the revival of prosperity in all branches of industry, and of the restoration of order to the finances, and of the rapid reduction of the public debt under its rule we do not need to speak. The Republican politicians have been describing these things with much fulness during the last three months on every stump in the land. In short, from the material point of view, the contrast between the United States as Mr. Hayes found them and the United States as he leaves them is prodigious. Wealth, population, exports, imports, manufactures, agriculture, immigration have all grown under him with marvellous rapidity. "Oh!" but it will be said by the Stalwarts, "it is not to the Administration we are indebted for all this; it is due to the wise legislation of Republican Congresses and the industry and enterprise of the people." To which we reply that every Stalwart is compelled, by the language used by him during the present canvass in describing the mischief which would be wrought by Hancock's election, to acknowledge that it is due in the main to Mr. Hayes's Administration. General Hancock, if elected, could not legislate. He could, like Mr. Hayes, only veto and recommend, and take care that the laws were faithfully executed. Nevertheless, a thousand orators and a thousand newspapers have been assuring us ever since July 1 that on General Hancock's conduct within this narrow sphere it would depend whether our credit was destroyed, our industry wrecked, and the Treasury emptied by jobs, and that this conduct would probably justify the worst fears of his enemies. In fact, the happy condition of public and private affairs, which has for this reason been used as the strongest and most effective argument against him, must, if he can destroy it and if General Garfield can preserve it, have been largely the work of the President whom one or the other of them will succeed. The triumph of the party in the election of General Garfield, which now seems likely if not certain, will be a sort of crown or

seal of Mr. Hayes's policy if the reasons given by Republican orators for not electing General Hancock have any force whatever.

All this points irresistibly to a conclusion which we trust General Garfield will take to heart, and which he seems to have overlooked when he wrote his letter of acceptance. This conclusion is that the professional politicians, of whom Mr. Conkling is the type and head, are not skilful politicians in any but the narrowest sense of that term. They manage conventions dextrously, but they do not manage a party so as to give it victory at the polls. Their tactics are not adapted to the battle-field, however strong on the parade-ground. They are very like the Russian grand-duke who objected to war because it spoiled the "set up" of the troops. The things which these men admire and advocate are, in short, whatever merits they may have, not the things which give majorities to the Republican party at the polls. They might suit *some* party, but it is evidently not the Republican party. There may be a country which could be successfully governed according to Mr. Conkling's ideas, but apparently not this country. When he thought things were going beautifully the Republican party was rapidly losing the Government; during the last four years, when he has thought it was going to the devil, it has been rapidly regaining the Government, and is finally achieving victories long unknown in behalf of a candidate whose nomination almost made him sick, and whom he cannot name without signs of disgust. So that the true policy for the next Republican President would seem to call for not less Hayes and more Grant, but a good deal more Hayes and no Grant at all; and to indicate not that the advice of the professionals ought to be more closely followed, but that the complete loss of it, such as Mr. Hayes has had to put up with, is the surest guarantee of party triumphs. If the ordinary rules of prudence are of any use in politics, nothing which has not come to pass can be more certain than that if the persons who have been foremost in reviling Mr. Hayes had had their way during the past four years, General Hancock's election would to-day be assured beyond peradventure.

GENERAL HANCOCK'S ESCAPE ON THE TARIFF.

WE ventured, on the 12th of August last (No. 789), to maintain the desirableness of having Presidential candidates take the stump on their own behalf in the canvass, on the ground that the practice would tend to improve both the nominations and the platforms. We said:

"The great flaw in the working of the governmental machine in our time is the absence of any direct responsibility to the public on the part of officers, and the absence of any direct means of communication between them. If Presidential candidates had always been expected to justify and commend on the stump the party nomination, there is very little doubt that the practice of nominating obscure and mediocre men and keeping them in strict seclusion till the election, would never have sprung up; and the candidate, on the other hand, would not have been able, as he is now, to protect himself against all responsibility by taking shelter behind the party. His position towards the public, in short, would have undergone an assimilation, in many ways desirable, to that of the chief of the cabinet in England. The party would not venture to nominate a man who could not make a good figure in the public presentation of his views on the leading questions of the day, or who had no views to present on such questions. Knowing well, too, that if he took the stump he would have to explain the party position on these questions, not vaguely or evasively but explicitly, they would probably be more careful to furnish him a platform which would bear being expounded. In expounding it, too, he would necessarily commit himself distinctly on all matters of importance, and would thus furnish the voters with very valuable memoranda to be used in watching and criticising his Presidential career."

We had little idea when this was written that General Hancock would, by this time, furnish a striking illustration of the soundness of our position. But this he has done. He was nominated on the old system. As a politician he was both "mediocre and obscure," and we concluded that of course he would be kept in "strict seclusion" and silence until after the election, both because the Democratic platform would not bear exposition, and because, if it would, he was not competent to expound it. His letter of acceptance strengthened this impression. It was the letter of a man who wished well to his country but knew nothing about its political business, and it might, in fact, have

been written by any well-wisher of the country—the Emperor William, for instance. It must, therefore, have caused his supporters a genuine and by no means pleasant surprise when he escaped from custody by telegraphing his congratulations to Mr. Plaisted, the newly-elected Fusionist Governor of Maine, for these congratulations, if they meant anything, must have meant approval of Plaisted's views on finance, and were therefore, *pro tanto*, an exposition of the Democratic position on the currency. Plaisted and his supporters favor the issue of all currency by the Government, and the abolition of all banks of issue; and if General Hancock is glad of their triumph at the polls it is not unreasonable to conclude that he favors an increased issue of greenbacks, and the withdrawal of the circulation of the national banks. This is a very startling proposal, particularly when unaccompanied by any plan for making and keeping Government paper redeemable in coin. It would produce, if carried out, an extraordinary disturbance in the business of the country and make the financial future, already disagreeably uncertain, more uncertain than ever.

General Hancock, however, did not stop here. There were probably few things for which the public was less prepared at his hands than an exposition of the Democratic position regarding the tariff. We took occasion a few weeks ago to point out the ambiguity of the phrase "tariff for revenue only," used in the Democratic platform. There is now no doubt that this was inserted without any thought of its importance, and without any intention of dwelling on it or acting on it. No Democratic orator has interpreted it on the stump, and the conclusion is irresistible that the party did not mean to make it an "issue" in the canvass. But if they did not mean to make it an issue they ought not to have said anything about it. If they did mean to make it an issue they ought to have explained fully what they understood by it, and in what manner, if they got into power, they meant to act on it. Nothing can well be more important to the business men of the country than information of this kind from any party which is asking to be entrusted with the government. We have made no secret in these columns of our objections to the tariff now in force, but we have no hesitation in saying that a proposal to convert the present tariff into a revenue tariff at one stroke, considering the enormous investments which have been made under the former within the last twenty years, sounds to us like the suggestion of an insane person. It is hardly possible any rational and intelligent Democrat can have had anything of the kind in mind. A revenue tariff, whenever resorted to, must be introduced very slowly and with ample notice to manufacturers, and any one who advocates it is bound to tell people within what period and by what processes he proposes to make the change. If the Democratic platform had been a sincere expression of party policy, as it ought to have been, this duty would have been assigned to competent orators, and the halls would have been ringing all over the country during the past three months with tariff discussions, and General Hancock would either have been instructed to keep dead silence about the subject and leave it to be treated by the experts, or have been crammed so as to make a respectable deliverance to the interviewers. All these precautions, however, were neglected. The tariff plank was apparently not intended for exposition by anybody, and then perhaps the least competent man in the party, the candidate himself, was allowed to expound it.

Of his exposition made to the reporter of a New Jersey newspaper, and subsequently revised and amended in a letter to Mr. Randolph, written with the view of doing away with the unfortunate impression the interview produced, we do not need to speak in detail. In fact there is nothing in it to discuss. The General's talk about the tariff is that of a man who knows nothing about it, and who apparently, until he began to talk, had never thought about it. There is nothing discreditable to him in this ignorance. He is a soldier, and soldiers, as a general rule, know nothing, and are not expected to know anything, about tariffs. The soldier's business is to smash people who will not get out of the way, and to the successful performance of this duty no knowledge about tariffs would contribute anything. General Hancock was nominated because he held the Cemetery at Gettysburg against the rebels, and this feat he might have performed without ever having heard of the tariff. Moreover, those who nominated him knew he had no knowledge about tariffs, but they expected to get him through the canvass on the old plan without having this fact brought prominently to light. His indiscretion

has betrayed them. He has not only made himself somewhat ridiculous, but has brought home to the public with much force the charlatanism of the way in which platforms are made up. And yet he has done the very thing which he ought to have done had he been the right man in the right place, and had the platform been what it ought to have been. Had he been the right man in the right place, the kind of man we had a right to expect from the Democrats in view of their criticism of Republicans during the past twenty years, he would have known *all* about tariffs. He would have understood what a tariff for revenue meant, and how it differed from a tariff for protection, and would have been prepared to explain how it should be brought into use, and he would have taken care that there was nothing in the platform on which he could be caught napping. Had the Convention meant to nominate such a man, too, they would have been careful to put nothing into the resolutions which their candidate could not defend or explain, and the Presidential canvass would have been a solid and instructive discussion of living subjects.

The incident is likely to be most useful in putting an end to the hallucination by which so large a portion of the community has been afflicted during the past fifteen years, that a professional soldier can successfully, or even creditably, administer the affairs of a Government such as that of the United States has become since the war. The revival of this hallucination by the Democrats in the year 1880 is one of the most singular events in their very singular party history. The vastness of the revenue, the multitude of conflicting interests, the complexity of the laws, the heterogeneous character of the population, and the recent enlargement of the sphere of the Federal Government have combined to make the Presidency an office which ought either to be filled by a trained and experienced civilian or abolished as a public danger and nuisance. The Republicans put a soldier in the place at the close of the civil war, when the great problems of the Government were still in part military, but his ignorance of civil affairs and insensibility to purely political considerations were just as great as General Hancock's. His messages during his eight years abounded with recommendations which were for the most part puerile and to which Congress never paid any attention. His treatment of the Cabinet as a personal staff gave rise to innumerable scandals and abuses. No great soldier has succeeded as the head of a constitutional government. Cromwell failed; Napoleon failed, or made no pretence of trying; and the Duke of Wellington failed—how lamentably, the latest volume of his letters has more fully revealed. Washington succeeded, but Washington was an exceptional character, and, indeed, was not a real or great soldier; he was bred a civilian. It is to be hoped the defeat of General Hancock will be the end of an experiment which has reached the ridiculous stage of failure; that it should have lasted so long is not creditable to us as a great commercial and *par excellence* civilian people.

THE LYRIC CAMPAIGN.

FEW things American, it is to be creditably said, perhaps, are less characteristic than what may be called, in virtue solely of its quadrennial inspirations, the patriotic muse. We seem to lack the lyric quality so utterly that popular attempts at lyrical expression have almost no significance, and are too spiritless and perfunctory to strike one as bad even, or at least as anything but the atrocity of platitude. It is obvious that Fletcher of Saltoun had no prophetic vision of the direction of the course of empire, and that his famous aphorism applied in our instance ludicrously falls short. At all events, great occasions are needed to stimulate the national muse to any sincerity of utterance. The Revolution and the rebellion produced several respectable songs now rapidly becoming memories, but other crises in our history have been barren in this regard—unless, which is manifestly stretching a point, we are to ascribe the popularity of, say, "The Seminole's Reply" to popular lyrical appreciation. Neither the war of 1812 nor the Mexican War, so far as we know, gave rise to anything that had currency. The anti-slavery songs, save that which celebrates the progress of John Brown's spirit, perhaps, were expository and polemical poems rather than truly lyric; and the mass of the Southern verses born of the war, with two or three exceptions such as "The Bonnie Blue Flag" and "My Maryland," and a few fine things of Henry Timrod, are hardly to be termed literature at all. The patriotic muse is in the main shut up to Presidential campaigns, and upon only one or two of these have her utterances left any decided mark. Perhaps that of 1840 remains most distinctly thus stamped in the popular mind, but probably quite as much because now and then one of the passing generation found "Tippe-

canoe and Tyler Too," effective as a nursery lullaby as because of any real popular hold the song obtained. Since then, at any rate, if we except the war period, even Presidential campaigns have not been lyrically prolific. We have had nothing answering to the "Jingo" ballad. The "situation" four years ago, it must be acknowledged, was unfavorable. To justify a great lyrical outburst either "principles" or "men" are a prime requisite, and in 1876 it was impossible to feel a really lyrical enthusiasm for the candidates and platforms. "Tilden and Reform!" was a watchword, a slogan, it will be remembered; but for some reason the idea it embodied was of a distinctly prose nature, and never, that we recall, had more than a fugitive success when elevated into verse. Mr. Hayes, on the other hand, also represented nothing that was not too temperate and straightforward for the heightened ecstasy of song. Doubtless, too, the one tuneful element of our population, the Southern negroes, was intimidated, and, upon the whole, perhaps no more prosaic and unmelodious canvass has ever been conducted.

Some signs of a reaction are, therefore, natural during the present contest, aside from the fact that the martial element is more positively present and enthusiasm thus easier to excite. The Democrats have in this respect an obvious advantage, but with the fatality which renders their best efforts grotesquely inadequate they have not made much out of it, whereas, here as elsewhere, their opponents have taken the bull by the horns, and in newspaper poetry, as well as on the stump, the glory of Gettysburg is made successfully to pale before that of Chickamauga. Colonel John A. Joyce, of St. Louis, for instance, celebrated in prosaic rather than poetic works—he was Macdonald's companion in suffering for the Whiskey Conspiracy—sets to the air of "The Bright Light in the Morning" some stirring verses in honor of the hero of the latter conflict, of which a stave runs:

"When the war began with a Rebel row,
Children, children, won't you follow me?
He took the front, put his hand to the plow—
Halle, halle, halle, hallelujah!"

The Albany *Journal* caps this with a masterly effort, of which we can give but one stanza and the rollicking chorus:

"He early learned to paddle well his own forlorn canoe:
Upon Ohio's 'grand canal' he held the helm [from hellum] true.
And now the people shout to him: 'Lo! 'tis for you we wait—
We want to see Jim Garfield guide our glorious Ship of State.'"

"Chorus—Jim Garfield's at the front!
Jim Garfield's at the front!
'Twould be a sin to fail to win
With Garfield at the front!"

There was a marked contrast between his conduct, too, after taking the front and that of his rival, which Mr. Wm. O. Stoddard thus subtly emphasizes in the *Tribune*:

"He was not quite so fast to cuss
And swear around as some be;
And all he said was, 'Come on, boys,
We'll give 'em Hail Columby!'"

Inspiring incidents of General Garfield's career, antedating his martial experiences, are, of course, not difficult to find. "Immediately after the announcement of his nomination" Mr. O. D. Haven, of Cleveland, O., "pen-ned" a song whose chorus, "Garfield rang the bells at Hiram," refers to his service as janitor at Hiram College. He

"—rang them loud, he rang them long,
He rang them sharp, he rang them strong,"

and he is now about to "wring a victory, 'mid the battle's roar," from the nation's foes. The levelling necessities of the campaign muse are naturally imperative; nothing has been accomplished in this way in General Hancock's case, so far as we have seen, but in General Garfield's we have not only "Jim" but "Jimmie," one refrain running—

"And we'll all rejoice when Jimmie goes marching home."

At a meeting in St. Louis it is reported that "the entire assemblage rose and sung with great warmth and technique a song entitled 'Columbia's Call,' of which the chorus is:

"Then hip-hip hurrah! Welcome be the fray,
For we know we'll win the day.
See, Garfield leads, and Arthur, too, the dauntless,
Our cause is God's and He will light the way!"

and which is attributed, as others of a like sort are, to the pen of Postmaster Filley, with evident malice and probably no truth. Of course, no difficulty is found in invoking enthusiasm for the "dauntless Arthur," and at the elevation upon which the campaign song subsists differences are harmonized and the exactitude of ordinary prose standards becomes trivial and impertinent.

"Garfield and Arthur are the men
To guide us in the right,"

sings one confident bard, presumably not a Hayes Republican, and he in turn seems to be rivalled in animated optimism, though not in precise prosody, by another who declares—

"We'll send forth a starter for Garfield and Arthur,
The men whose record is free from blight!"

Still another issues the challenge:

"Garfield and Arthur! there they stand,
Match their worth in all the land."

The Springfield *Republican*, we have observed, is disgusted at this loose association, and says "It isn't a good sort of mixture to carol about," but we fancy the effect will not be disastrous, and in any event it is clearly unfair to censure the campaign harper for following the score written for him by the Convention. Moreover, the party opponents of General Arthur have had a very free fling at the wing with which he is known to sympathize most acutely, and can afford generosity. His closest friend was thus referred to before the nomination by an Ohio balladist, who, like General Garfield, was a warm supporter of Secretary Sherman. The latter, he says,

"— may not gush in rhetoric,
Like the 'Senataw from New York,'
But he don't o'erflow with bile and *chic*
And airs, and poppycock!"

This writer continues—

"He may not have the 'magnetism'
Of the 'plumed knight' of Maine;
But he also lacks some *other* *finis*
Which seem to stick to Blaine.
He's not perhaps as *great* a man
As our great soldier, Grant;
But he'd not have round him such a clan
As for the 'third term' pant."

And the said clan fared badly, one and all, at the hands of other singers of their own household as soon as it was clear they were beaten and subjects for satiric or elegiac verse instead of odes and peans. A ribald burlesque thus refers to both Blaine and Grant:

"What is that, mother?
A goose, my child;
His eyes are afloat and his tail aslant,
His squawk is loud and his flight is wild—
He speeds to Chicago to vote for Grant.
But he's not the only goose, my dear—
There are other geese in the squawking train,
And the rabid, frantic squawks we hear
Are the squawks they squawk for the man of Maine,
And he's got the goose and his name is Blaine."

"What is that, mother?
A crow, my child";

—the rest is easily anticipated. An abandoned and licentious Philadelphia poet exults over the defeat of Logan and the clan Cameron in this wise:

"I hear the pibroch sounding, sounding,
The wail o' despair from Chicag!
'Tis the (s) Logan o' sorrow that's wounding
My heart for yer tauntin' and brag."

And, to crown all, an equally reckless rhymester, of whose residence we are ignorant, embalms a humiliating incident of the Grant "boom" in the following fantasy:

"'It will be a damned shame,' cried Fred,
'If father is not nominated.'
And so when the shame
Came about through Jim Blaine,
Our Fred
Bowed his head,
Wept like a water-cart, it is said,
And howled like a bull-dog under a shed.
He said, with eyes red,
'The empire is dead,
They ain't got any use for our anointed head.'"

It savors of hypercriticism, of course (and we have designed only a cursory not a critical review), but we cannot help suggesting that the last line would have read better "They hain't got no use," etc. This, however, is a detail, the main point being clearly divorced from diction and of sufficient explicitness to be very effective. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean's* "Stalwart Three Hundred"—

"But they were not dismayed;
Not a man was afraid—
Noble three hundred!
Forward the boom brigade;
'Vote for Grant,' Conkling said;
With a will all obeyed—
All of three hundred!"

—sounds very feeble in contrast, despite the inspiring view taken of the courage required to obey Mr. Conkling; reflecting on Balaklava, too, one can but attribute the parody to one of the noble band of Irish Republicans of whose cordial praises the Republican press has of late been full.

The Democratic bards seem to us, as we say, to have been less successful in glorification of their candidate, but they have "got in" some good blows in the way of satiric verse. Even here, however, they have been greatly assisted by Republican maladroitness, which, possibly owing to the greater amount of mental activity among Republicans, has been more abundant than Democratic ingenuity. None of the stanzas pointed with choral allusions to "329" and antistrophes chanting references to "back-pay," "Crédit Mobilier," and "De Golyer" that we have seen, for example, are so effective as this cheering adjuration:

"Wake, O Republicans! wake!
Wake and be active once more!
Fear not the gale—
Crowd on the sail—
Head the old ship to the shore!"

This is only equalled by the "war-cry" uttered after the Maine election by

another Irish Republican: "To your tents, Republicans! Give them the bayonet, boys!" Either, we think, should be worth hundreds of votes to the Democracy and must be set down as campaign blunders. Indeed, a stranger to this department of the national literature might, assuming the common sense, not to say sanity, of its audience, believe it a coarse kind of satire in which, by the *reductio ad absurdum* of magniloquence, the politics ostensibly favored were really intended to be ridiculed. It is certain that the animation and vigor expressed are wholly factitious and perfunctory, and without the check of sincerity abler men than we conceive the average campaign bard to be have come to grief from the manifold varieties of protesting too much. A distich from the St. Louis *Republican* recalls us from speculation of even a superficial gravity, however—though the poetic staff of the *Republican* is owlishly grave, it should be said; nothing better than "mere statesmanship" has come under our notice in the campaign *lyra*:

"His [Hancock's] proud form attracts, but his pure, loyal soul
Gives a grace that mere 'statesmanship' ne'er can control."

The party bards get some provender out of the circumstance that the General and John Hancock have the same surname.

"From the old Declaration we follow its fame—
'Twas then honored, unsullied; to-day still the same,"

sings one, rather incoherently. There is something poetically antithetic, too, in the civil record of the soldier Hancock, and something is now and then made of it:

"Hurrah for him, the stainless chief
Who wears the civic wreath,"

and so on; but there is not an abundance of Hancockana. On the other hand, the Government "pampering" the General has received gets abundant attention in the songs of the other party, and the disgrace with which he covered himself by going to West Point while General Garfield "rang the bells at Hiram" is painted as vividly as the inconsistency illustrated thus:

"In the Union war I fought so well
That my name is greeted with the rebel yell."

The rebels really furnish the material for the best songs. The last verse of one by Mr. Sykes, written, says the *Tribune*, "to give the Solid South a chance of adapting a favorite air to modern circumstances," is as follows:

"We'll repudiate our debt, boys, we've borrowed from the North,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
We will burn the 'public schools,' and we'll drive the niggers forth,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.
Chorus.—'Tis slavery for ever, hurrah, boys, hurrah!
Down with the Yankees, up with the 'bears,'
While we ostracize the loyal and murder thousands more,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom."

Wade Hampton's Staunton speech, of course, provides what is styled a "paraphrase," of which two lines are:

"Vote as you shot when Fort Pillow howled;
Yes, vote as you shot when Lincoln fell."

And a contributor to the Philadelphia *Bulletin* derives a cruel delight from the melancholy discovery that Forney's first two initials are the same as those of Wilkes Booth, and that

"General Scott Hancock, whose first letter's W,
Can't be pulled through by a double John W."

The whole situation is, perhaps, best summed up by the Stalwart Indianapolis *Journal* in the following "Rhymes for Young Democrats":

"Sing a song of shotguns,
Pocket full of knives,
Four-and-twenty black men,
Running for their lives;
When the polls are open,
Shut the nigger's mouth,
Isn't that a bully way
To make a solid South?
Northern sympathizers
Making speeches chaffy!
Major-General Hancock
Eating rebel taffy;
English in a quandary
How to save his dollars!
Along comes a solid South
And fits them all with collars."

We must, in conclusion, say a word in favor of the superior political excellence and spontaneity, slight as they are, of the casual newspaper bard over those of the 'Campaign Songster.' The songs in the latter are indubitably the work of triflers who have nothing at stake in the contest, and are written to order in the most unblushing manner. A disillusioning instance is a song which we find both in the Garfield and in the Hancock 'Songster,' entitled in the one case "The Democrats must Die" and in the other "The Republicans must Die," written by the same unscrupulous poet and with identical truculence.

FRANCE AND HER FOREIGN RELATIONS.

PARIS, Sept. 30, 1880.

SINCE the visit of the King of Greece to Paris France has abandoned the policy of absolute non-intervention which had become a kind of dogma for all the men in power after 1871; all the ministers who had in succession directed foreign affairs invariably following this policy of total passivity. A

new feeling seems to have pervaded a portion of our political world; the fear of war is the beginning of the love of peace: "Initium sapientie timor Domini." The memories of the late war, of the occupation of so many cities and villages by foreign troops, are still so vivid that the country at large may be said to be almost frantically pacific. The Republicans have missed no opportunity of saying to the people that the right of making peace or war must no longer be left to the arbitrary will of one man, that the essence of the Republic consists in leaving to the country the choice of its own conduct, that the Republic will for ever protect it against such adventures as the Mexican war or the fatal war against Germany. These doctrines have sunk very deep into the conscience of the nation; whenever there is the slightest fear of a European complication there is at once a feeling of uneasiness which no internal question can produce. In all matters of interior politics the country has become absolutely optimistic; it fears no more the dangers which the political Jeremiahs denounce, it does not even dread the Commune; and the ruins of the monuments burnt in 1871, and not yet reconstructed, seem to teach Paris but one lesson—a new siege of Paris must not take place, the "obsidional folly" must not again be felt by the faubourgs. All the ravings of the Rocheforts, the Félix Pyats, and others fall on indifferent ears; their articles are but the pickles which are thrown every day into the political dish. Paris is happy, Paris is amused, Paris makes money. The great houses of finance are as optimistic as the Republicans in power, and for the last few years our monetary market has only known buyers; immense fortunes have been made by the speculators who understood the temper of the country. Our 5 per cents, which were issued after the war at 82, have now reached the price of 120, and you meet people everywhere who prophesy that they will still continue to rise. The dream of a new war has been dismissed like a nightmare. The German Government has done everything in its power to convince the French people that it is completely indifferent to the form of government in France—every minister of foreign affairs, in his turn, has been treated as "persona grata," every ambassador to Berlin the same; and the French are now thoroughly convinced that they can do anything they like at home without giving offence to their neighbors.

The attachment to peace is so great in the country that the most dangerous weapon which was used against the "16th of May" was the rumor, spread all over France, that MacMahon and the monarchical party were not as completely tied to a policy of peace as the Republicans; that the Duc Decazes had been coquetting with Prince Gortchakoff; that a strong Conservative Government in France would find alliances in Europe, and would in consequence sooner or later be tempted to interfere in European affairs. This belief was the deathblow to the enterprise of the 16th of May; and, whether Europe believed sincerely or affected to believe that the Duc de Broglie and his friends had warlike designs, the triumph of the Republicans in the general elections of 1877 was hailed with joy by the old monarchical governments of Europe. The Eastern war had broken out shortly before the beginning of that great party struggle in France; it ran its course while France was considered as sequestered in Europe. To be sure, her representatives took part in the diplomatic conferences—in the Conference at Constantinople, afterwards at the Congress of Berlin; but it was generally understood that we were there only "for ornament," like furnishing pictures in an apartment. Much courtesy was shown us, and we were even allowed to make some sort of incidental and immaterial propositions. We spoke for the Greeks, but it seemed to us as well as to Europe that our love for the Greeks was essentially platonic. Time went on, and the famous alliance of the three Emperors was dissolved. A sort of political imbroglia began, in which it was not the Duc de Broglie, but his principal opponent, who began to give signs of an intention of dragging France out of her isolation. Our policy has become more active, and finally we have tied our action to the European concert in Eastern affairs. There are now two politics face to face—one official, the other more occult. It is understood that the *République Française* is the mouth-piece of the occult power, the minister-maker, the President of the Chamber of Deputies. From his palace of the Élysée-Bourbon Gambetta directs the occult diplomacy, while close by, on the Quai d'Orsay, the Minister of Foreign Affairs directs the official diplomacy. These two diplomacies have ceased to be in thorough accord, and the results of this disagreement are already apparent. At the great review of the fleet at Cherbourg the President of the Chamber of Deputies allowed himself to be carried away by a passion which he had long seemed to suppress; his mysterious and oracular words about the "immanent justice of things," about the injuries done to France which would sooner or later be repaired, produced a great impression in Germany. It was the first time that something *real* was said, something which was not the conventional talk of the diplomatic drawing-rooms. The lion did not quite roar, but he felt his claws; and this half-conscious, half-unconscious outburst of patriotism and of national pride took place after France had reviewed her army, given to the regiments their new flags, and immediately after the fleet had been inspected by the President of the Republic.

Since Mr. Gladstone has taken the Premiership in England the relations

between some of the men who are in power in England and the President of the Chamber of Deputies have been incessant. While the struggle between the Liberals and the Conservatives was going on, Lord Granville took great pains to explain that the English Liberals could not help the Government of the National Defence in 1870, but that they had no hostility towards the successors of the Empire. On the contrary, the English Liberals offered to the French Republicans a sort of new "cordial alliance." They were quite ready to recommence the Crimean war with them. They tried in every possible way to draw the French Republic away from other alliances, and to incline them on their side. The English alliance is at no time a thing to be despised, and it cannot be very surprising if some of the leaders of public opinion here, remembering of what value the English alliance was to Napoleon III., imagined that it could still be of value now. The whole history of the last few months has been a gradual *resserrement* between France and England. This work was done entirely outside of the Chambers, but the result is now apparent. A line of common action has been adopted against Turkey, but the leaders of this common action have been all along France and England. The other Powers joined in the movement, but their spirit was different from the spirit of France and England. Dulcigno has been the first objective of the common action. But the difficulties have already begun. It was imagined that Turkey would give way at once before a demonstration of all the great Powers, and if this demonstration had been successful other demonstrations would have been tried. The frontier of Greece has been drawn by diplomacy, as a diamond cuts a line on a pane of glass; give it a simple knock and the glass is divided.

Public opinion is now fairly alarmed by the Dulcigno demonstration. It is felt that the great Powers cannot remain in a ridiculous situation. Something must and something will be done. But France is not in a warlike mood; she feels that her occult diplomats have engaged her more than she likes to be engaged, and her official diplomats are trying to undo the work of the occult diplomacy. The more some men are showing an adventurous spirit the more it becomes necessary to be humble. Freycinet has denounced officially the policy of "jactance"; his successor has been chosen because he wrote for German reviews articles with no trace of "jactance." It is dangerous to be proud to-day and modest to-morrow. Successive fits of "hauteur" and of supineness are not as dignified as a constant attitude of reserve. The Eastern Question has been again opened, and it is impossible to predict how the European union will be dissolved, and how the forces which are now at work will group themselves in the end. The situation is all the more obscure because in England as well as in France a sudden change is always possible. The triumph of Mr. Gladstone was a surprise to the world. Who knows who will triumph in France, the friends of "peace at any price," the partisans of absolute non-intervention, or the politicians who are ready to use the strong arms which ten years of peace and of prosperity have now placed in the hands of France?

THE PIUS-VEREIN AT CONSTANCE.

PARIS, Oct. 4, 1880.

THE parliamentary vacation is now approaching its close. We shall soon judge of the course of policy to be pursued by the new Ministry. One thing is certain: it will be as pacific as M. de Freycinet's. The name of the new Minister for Foreign Affairs is a sufficient guarantee of this, as has been already observed by M. Gambetta's paper, the *République Française*. That is evidently the reason why M. Grévy considers it a duty to burden M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire at his age with such an onerous post, but it also proves how necessary it was to reassure Europe. There was no better way of showing how unwilling France was to adopt a venturesome policy, for M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire is the personification of the policy of M. Thiers, of whom he was the intimate friend and private secretary at the time of his presidency. There is no man more respected in France, and deservedly so, for his entire disinterestedness and austerity. A translator of Aristotle, he is the true stoic of our Republic. The chief business and great difficulty of the new Ministry is the religious dispute; it remains to be seen how they will contrive to settle matters satisfactorily to the Left without causing dissension throughout the country. To appreciate the gravity of this struggle we must not confine ourselves within the frontiers of France; it is going on everywhere in Europe. The Ultramontane party is identically the same in all countries: it forms a single army under one flag. Consequently, it is interesting to mark how it has behaved on those battlefields where it has encountered the bravest and most powerful enemies—I mean in the German Empire, pre-eminently the country of the *Culturkampf*.

An important meeting has just been held at Constance, from which we may gather information respecting the principles and disposition of the Ultramontane party throughout the world: it was the general meeting of the German Catholics, who are also designated as the *Pius-Verrein*. I particularly wished to be present, under existing circumstances, and was able to convince myself of the strict solidarity which unites the German and French

Ultramontanes, so that in speaking of the meeting at Constance I remain on French ground, for, as its name indicates, Ultramontaniam is international. Allow me, then, to give you a brief account of what I saw and heard at Constance, as it will be useful, I think, in order to understand better the vicissitudes of the religious struggle in my country as they are disclosed, and perhaps may be a sure means of foreseeing their issue. I must acknowledge having heard at Constance more than one speech really eloquent and even piquant with humor and originality. On an average, the German-Catholic conferences appear to me superior to analogous assemblies in France. I attribute this superiority in the clerical orators to their contact with university men during their studies. For the most part they have not lost there a single one of their narrow doctrines, but they adopt more the language of the world.

A word first as to their origin. These German-Catholic conferences date from the year 1849, the commencement of the formidable religious reaction which followed the return from Gaëta. They took the name of the Pope, and were called Pius-Verein. At that epoch this name was significative of their programme: it meant the most unbridled Ultramontaniam. The society which adopted it as a symbol engaged itself to work for the triumph of the Pope's infallibility and whatever is implied in that doctrine. Men had not then, as now, arrived at universal subjection. The truly Christian spirit which distinguished Dalberg, and especially Wessenberg of Constance, was not extinct in the German episcopacy; the university men maintained the same principles. It may be said that the élite of German Catholicism was influenced by the same spirit. The Pius-Verein, the beloved offspring of the Roman Gesù, had but one aim: to crush this opposition. They found no better means of obtaining that end than by organizing a sort of democratic agitation, provoking the masses to overwhelm in their excitement the recalcitrant notabilities of the Church. A preponderant rôle was everywhere assigned to laymen in France and Germany, not for the purpose of increasing the liberty of Christian people, but in order, by popular pressure, to annul the rights of the episcopacy, which looked upon the Pius-Verein with coldness. To borrow from liberty its mode of action was a master-stroke of Jesuitism, for thus they more effectually suppressed it. We know these terrible laymen, more fanatic than monks of the Middle Ages, who, with insult upon their lips, rule the Church. They are violent, like revolutionists; but their disturbances are similar to those of the ancient Russians, who rebelled only to give greater force to the despotism of their czars. Such are the laymen who presided at the formation of the German-Catholic general assemblies.

The first meeting took place at Mainz in 1849, and in 1854 the jubilee of Boniface VIII. was there celebrated with great pomp. The society then established a prosperous offshoot in Switzerland. Its influence in following years became considerable in spite of the protest of many eminent men, such as the learned Hirscher, who complained bitterly against these irregular, incompetent, and insubordinate gatherings, whose object was to secure for papacy a blind adulation. None the less they continued to develop, silencing all opposition and triumphing over episcopacy. It will be seen by what has just passed at Constance how far they have triumphed over the regular authorities of the Church. It seemed that when once the doctrine of Papal infallibility was established the Pius-Verein had no further object, but the political results of the Council, the serious conflicts it excited, again opened a fresh career for it; hence its periodical meetings. It must not be forgotten that the assembly survives in a permanent organization; numerous committees work unceasingly during the interval of the sessions. They endeavor to envelop Germany in a network of innumerable works designed to reach the different classes of society, workmen, students, and trades-people. Other committees are engaged in the development of religious art, the publication of good books and newspapers. One cannot help admiring this great zeal, but unfortunately there is only a single thought in all this varied activity; it is always the Ultramontane crusade, the constant effort to bring back the ancient social order—in short, war without truce throughout their line upon modern states, war which is above all defensive now, for Prince Bismarck is not the man to await the enemy in his intrenchments.

The Catholic assembly at Constance is the seventeenth of the Pius-Verein. Constance is one of the most delightful towns of Southern Germany, with its fine lake and the snowy heights of the Alps on the horizon. It has also the prestige of historical associations. Great religious lights have illumined it, the brightest and purest arising from the stake at which John Huss was burnt. One of the most famous councils of the Middle Ages took place here—one which must be execrated by the Ultramontane party, as it condemned beforehand their favorite doctrine. We shall see how they got rid of this inopportune remembrance. The assembly took place in the magnificent Hôtel de Ville, which possesses fine rooms for both private and general meetings. The Salle des Fêtes serves for public assemblies. The inconvenience of this arrangement was that the dinner-bell rang loudly and interrupted the finest perorations. It even drowned the tocsin an alarmist orator was sounding with both arms about our accursed society. We had a fine escape. The

assembly was composed of more than a thousand persons, in the main country parish priests and members of the middle classes. A few white-robed Dominicans were conspicuous among the black gowns. The Catholic nobility of Southern Germany was largely represented, as well as the Ultramontane youth from the universities, who uttered their complaint in the language of St. Thomas Aquinas's invocation. The first object of the Congress was to present an account of the different works pursued by the society. The principal one bears the name of St. Boniface; its purpose is to maintain the Catholic faith in countries where its adherents are in a minority. I ascertained in listening to these accounts, in general well drawn up, to what a degree the master-thought of the Pius-Verein pervades the smallest detail of their proceedings. They make use of the most powerful engines of modern democracy to spread their theocratic ideas. Judging only by outward appearance, it seemed as though one were in the midst of modern society. Journalism, societies, social questions, art and science are discussed; but one aim alone is pursued—to "Romanize" the world. The orators who ascend by turns the tribune at the Congress are entirely dissimilar, but nothing could be more uniform than the principles they unfold. One of the favorite subjects treated at the Constance Congress, as, indeed, at all Catholic meetings, was the use to be made of the press for the benefit of Ultramontaniam. Pope Pius IX. formed at Rome a congregation for this purpose, having under its direction more than five hundred Catholic journals. At Constance they engaged themselves to do their utmost to increase the circulation of right-thinking journals. All that I heard there proves the Ultramontane party to be organizing themselves more actively than ever for the political struggle, as appears from a much-applauded speech of Dr. Monfang, of Mainz. He concluded: "Be men; conduct yourselves bravely. Enter courageously into the struggle. Take your own affairs in hand. Fight along the whole line. Rally to the Centre of the Reichstag, which bears your banner so valiantly, to overcome the Liberalism which will ruin us." The last speaker heard at the Congress attacked still more violently Bismarck's policy. Having been assigned the subject of education for his speech, he cried, amidst the enthusiastic cheering of the assembly: "No reconciliation so long as we have not recovered our schools, so long as the Church has not regained the right of educating and bringing up children." At times the speaker seemed only to claim the liberty of teaching, but in reality it was the monopoly of instruction he demanded for his party, among the foremost of whom are Leo XIII., as may be gathered from his recent declarations, wherein he does not allow of any division of the right to educate the Catholic youth. The great success of the speaker was his furious outburst against secular teaching, in which he saw a hideous minotaur ready to devour our youths. Secular teaching does not succeed in their instruction more than in their moral education. In consequence of its presiding over public colleges folly and immorality are being developed in alarming proportions, whilst the standard of learning is lowered. This discourse was terminated by a veritable war-cry summed up in the formula: "The state is our enemy." This found its echo in the final resolutions of the Congress, which contain the most energetic protests against all religious legislation in the German Empire, especially in what concerns the schools. The assembly, by a formal vote, supported the policy of the Centre, and finally expressed the liveliest sympathy with the Belgian bishops in their resistance to their Government, as well as with the Catholics of Italy and France.

All that I saw and heard at Constance confirms in my eyes this fact, that after ten years of *Culturkampf*, the party Prince Bismarck wished to suppress by persecution is stronger than ever, although it had against it the cleverest, most energetic and unscrupulous adversary one can imagine. In short, everything this power has done in excess to annihilate the Ultramontanes has turned to their advantage. This lesson deserves to be carefully meditated by all Governments engaged in a contest with the most dangerous, skilful, and persevering of adversaries. Not that they should disarm when justly defending state rights, but that their prudence should see the point where they ought to stop, under pain, not only of deviating from the rules of justice, but of increasing the moral power of a party which, sooner or later, would end by exciting against itself in the Church the opposition of whoever is not disposed to deliver up his mind and conscience into the keeping of an unbridled authority without any just right or title, at least in its new form. É.

Correspondence.

THE FOX-HUNTING AT NEWPORT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The "reportorial" mind has been much exercised in its struggles with the incidents, and especially with the terminology, of the drag-hunting at Newport. As a consequence the newspaper public has hardly gained a very clear idea as to the character of the sport. The runs have been described with such a mixture of mistaken technical expressions, and with such evi-

dence of a "buggy" point of view, that little knowledge of what actually took place could be gained from the reports.

Public comment, even in Newport, was rarely appreciative, and not seldom ridicule had its full fling. The suggestion that to chase "a poor little fox" was not a manly occupation was perhaps the most usual form of disapprobation. As a "drag" is sometimes a red herring trailed over the fields, the pack was called "The Queens County Fish Hounds," and the kennels "Herringshausen." Other uncomplimentary comments and expressions were common. As a matter of fact, they may have been justified by exceptional incidents of the season. In reality, it seems to me, when we consider the conditions under which it was carried on, the hunting of the past two summers at Newport must have commended itself to those who know the sport in England, as a very successful adaptation of the processes of that sport to our very different conditions. The "fox" element was its feeblest feature—a feature which might with advantage have been omitted here, as it is in the celebrated drag-hunt of the Life Guards at Windsor. The fact that the foremost riders could rarely say at what point the fox was let out of the bag indicated that the running was as interesting before as after that event. Since the trophies of the chase were given not to the first persons in at the death and as tokens of success, but quite at the discretion of the master of the hounds—as often to ladies who came late on to the field as to men who had come in the front flight—the sentimental objection to the cruelty of the pastime could not be offset by the technical need for a prize to be run for. In reality the fox was a very small and unimportant part of the whole affair, and his entire absence would have done no harm.

The *modus operandi* may be thus described: A little time before the hour for starting, the drag (an anise-oiled rag or other strong-scented substance, *videlicet* a red herring) is trailed across the country by an attendant, who lays the course according to his judgment and according to his instructions—easy or difficult, as the case may be—for a distance of five or six miles. At the hour for the "meet" the roads in every direction in the vicinity are crowded with all manner of vehicles, and with such a gathering of mounted men, women, and children as America sees on no other occasion. Equestrians of all degrees—down to the farmer's boy on a plough-horse, in blinder bridle and up to the latest thing in English outfit—fill the roadsides. Presently the master (Mr. Griswold), a couple of whippers-in, and a half-dozen others of the Hunt, all in red coats, appear on the scene with the hounds. Of these there are from twenty to thirty. They are English fox-hounds, but not of the highest type. After a short halt, they are led to a field at some distance from the crowd of carriages, where the drag has been started, and are soon away on the scent. Sometimes nearly a hundred riders follow to the point of starting, and perhaps half of this number as far as the first fence—the others taking to such roads as are most likely to lead in the direction of the run. The first stiff jump generally thins out the crowd of horsemen to from thirty to forty, and of these only fifteen or twenty succeed in keeping reasonably close to the pack. The others often await their turns at the gaps and breaks, until they fall farther and farther to the rear. The fifteen or twenty who pretend to ride straight do ride remarkably straight. There are always some young women among them and some little boys, and they all show a nerve in taking their fences and a boldness and coolness in all their work that cannot be too much admired. Indeed, I have seen a dozen persons in the field here who would ride in the front rank in any hunt in England—where the difficulties are rarely greater.

The horses are quite worthy of their riders, and it is really astonishing to see how naturally the American horse of good blood takes to cross-country work. On several occasions I saw green Virginia and Kentucky horses, actually out for the first time, going among the very best quite to the end of the run—taking the stiffest fence, like old stagers, and with as much enthusiasm for the work as though they had been regularly trained to it. Before the run is half over, the real field rarely numbers more than twenty, but most of these keep their place through the whole of it.

When the hounds near the end of the course of the drag a fox (usually a young one) is let out of a bag, and is soon run down. The farce of distributing the brush, the mask, and the pads among the riders—with no regard to the fact of straight riding, and with no especial reference to the route by which or the promptness with which the field has been reached—is then gone through with, and the hunt is over. The carcass is torn and devoured by the hounds, and all hands turn toward home. There is generally a muddy coat or two, and a cut or scratch on a horse's leg to tell of falls and blunders; but there has not been a serious mishap this season, nor is any one now the worse for a fall in 1879.

The inference would seem natural that such immunity from injury must indicate an easy country; but this is far from being the case. A stout stone wall, four feet high, with a firm, broad capstone, is never an easy jump. No man ever rides at such a fence with a certainty of a safe landing. These fences are by no means frequent, yet there is rarely a day when from one to half a dozen such, or worse, are not taken by a dozen or twenty riders. I saw three such stone walls, fully four and a half feet high, jumped in quick suc-

cession by eight or ten horsemen. Five-foot walls are rare, but I have seen one such wall successfully taken. It is said that one leap was made over a wall five feet and seven inches high, measured from the taking-off place, but this I did not see. I have seen horses in the field here that I think would be equal even to that.

It is frequently asked, "What is the good of it all? Why not be content with a brisk ride on a Christian road? Why risk life and limb and horseflesh in such madcap cross-country racing after fox-hounds and 'a poor little fox'?" It seems to me that the answer is easy to find: Simply because life and limb and horseflesh never feel their full power and value and delight until they come to the hunting-field and are put to their most vigorous and most exhilarating use. The saddle is infinitely better than the buggy, but the saddle is only half enjoyed until it turns from the roads and takes to the fields and fences in hot pursuit, not of a poor little fox—he only leads the uncertain way—but of the quick recurring adventure and hazard which no other peaceful exercise affords.

Nor does the good of it all stop here. It takes men, and women too, out of their arm-chairs and their carriages, and teaches them a lesson they never forget—the lesson of fresh air, vigorous effort, thrilling physical excitement, quick and cool judgment, and all else that comes of the best development of horsemanship. More than this, it gives a new ambition to the young and affords a most wholesome substitute for the usual aims of sedentary American youth. Even the farmers' sons of Rhode Island are getting out their grandfathers' saddles and are joining in a revival which promises to grow into a reform. Three years ago, after the summer population had gone, a horseman was a rare sight at Newport. Now men and women and boys and girls are riding in every direction, and horsemanship is promising to become general here as it is in England. Then, again, this is a good centre for the infection: we send our influence back to all the cities, and New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are feeling the effect of the interest in riding that the Queens County Hunt has awakened here.

G. E. W., JR.

NEWPORT, Oct. 6, 1880.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am glad that Mr. Ludlow, in his note in the *Nation* of Sept. 16, agrees in the main with my strictures on the Archæological Society of Athens; but as the defence of the Society is that it has no means, I have only to reply that if it cannot undertake the work to be done it should not prevent others from doing it. The outcry in Greece about the exportation of the works of art now buried in the earth or already excavated is the outgrowth of pure ignorance of the commonest laws of political economy, and chauvinism of the very narrowest and most reprehensible kind. Suppose all the nations of Europe had made the same law, and Greece, in the course of its civilization, wanted to form a gallery of pictures for the education of her people, where would she get them? Venice would refuse her Titians, Florence her Giotto and Angelicos, Holland her Rembrandts, and France and Germany their modern masters, and Greece would have no gallery. But fortunately no other government in the world is so imbecile as to deny its art treasures the quality of property. Italy is the only country, besides Greece, where any legal restriction is placed on the sale of art treasures, and there the Government reserves the right of buying at a fair valuation, in default of which it permits exportation with an export duty. What the Greek Government does is first to levy a discovery duty of fifty per cent.—*i. e.*, the half of all that is found goes to the Government; but the other half, not being permitted to be exported, has no mercantile value unless it is portable enough to be smuggled out of the country. The consequence of the first provision is, that if antiquities are discovered they are, if possible, concealed from the authorities and smuggled out—the civil service, of which that of our own country is so tolerable a copy, giving immense facilities for contraband operations; and where they are too large to be moved easily they are commonly broken up and sold as fragments, a head here and a hand there (the peasant finder caring nothing for his ancestors but a good deal for his family), so that many things are broken, many exported without any clue to connect them with their original localities, and many most important archæological data are lost to us because the peasant who finds them dares not offer them to any archæological authority, but sells them to little dealers who sell them out of the country. Not one-tenth of the excavation is done that would be done if the digging were left free, under reasonable supervision and conditions; and, in the present state of Greece, the Government ought to do everything to encourage excavation by competent and honorable persons.

I can give two or three cases of the working of the present law which I came across in my late visit. I found by the merest accident, in a pile of stones coming from some chance excavation, an extremely interesting inscription (noticed in the *Nation* some months since). This had been on a tomb, to the contents of which I could get no clue whatever, every one in the place denying that there had been anything found—which was simply im-

possible—as the law punishes severely evasion of the restrictions on excavation (and this even when a man digs in his own garden), or neglect to render half to the Government. Now, as this inscription is one of the oldest known of the Greek language in Greek characters, a fragment of the pottery or other objects which must have been found in the tomb would, even if broken, have thrown light much wanted on the relation of art to letters, comparative dates, etc., but no one would confess to having found even a tile. In another case, the villagers having struck the site of an early temple of Apollo, found many objects which had belonged to it. The Government, getting a hint of the find, sent soldiers to search the village; and the people, aware of the penalty of having transgressed an absurd law, simply removed all evidence by throwing the objects found over the cliffs into the sea, which being there one hundred feet deep, they are lost to archaeology for ever. I could recount scores of instances more or less similar, either of destruction, partial or entire, or removal in such a way as to destroy the evidence of location. The laws on the subject are conceived in the most childish spirit and carried out with the most disastrous stupidity.

What the Greek Government should do in the interest of the ancient history of the country and of its archaeology is, firstly, to make excavation as extensive and easy as possible—which is impracticable while exportation is forbidden, because the prohibition to export keeps prices down in proportion to its effectiveness; secondly, to remove all impost on the results of excavation, so that no one may have an object in keeping these results secret to avoid the tax; and, thirdly, to levy an export tax so reasonable as to make smuggling not worth the risk, and then, retaining the reasonable right of prior purchase, to devote the proceeds of the export tax to the purchase of such of the articles found as may be deemed of importance to the archaeology, history, or glory of the country, with a provision for special rewards to any peasant or other excavator who may bring in an inscription of value as such. With such provisions there is no danger that Greek students would be obliged to go abroad “to study the antiquities of their own country,” or any other, as the amount of excavation to be done in Greece is so great that the proceeds of vigorous and wise excavation would soon fill the Greek museums and give funds for other things, and such excavation will never take place under the present laws. I know that practical archaeologists in Athens complain of the restrictions as I do, as making research almost impossible.

As to the notion which Mr. Ludlow advances, that the return of the Elgin marbles to Athens would advance the interests of art, it is only necessary to say that they can only be properly studied in their position as part of a great series, side by side with what went before and came after, and that they can only be at London, Berlin, or Paris; and if every government were as absurd as the Greek no such comparative study of art would ever be possible either at London or Athens. Great museums are the indispensable basis of artistic and archaeological science, but no great museums would ever exist if such chauvinism as prevails at Athens were to obtain generally. The best indication of the unwisdom of the Greek policy is that if Greece were rich she would resent as an injustice the adoption by other nations of laws like hers, which would compel her to send her students abroad to study art in its largest and most applicable forms; for, after all, so far as modern life is concerned, Italian and Flemish art are of more importance than Greek as Art or as application of the arts.

Yours truly,

W. J. STILLMAN.

FLORENCE, September 29, 1880.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE INDIANA CAMPAIGN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Republicans of Indiana have won a great victory, at which no one is more surprised than themselves. The late Senator Morton left the machine in good working order, and the men who have manned it are such as he liked; from the chairman of the State Committee down, as a rule, they had no thought of moving voters by an honest discussion of principles, but by arousing their selfish interests and their prejudices. Before the nominations Governor Hendricks and General Harrison made speeches to their respective party clubs, and both failed utterly to give evidence that political discussion was this year to be upon a higher plane. I asked a politician of his party why General Harrison did not speak of some things which the Republican party at least ought to do in the future, and was answered that no one would presume to do that until the National Convention had “made up the issues.” But the bold and effectual stand against Grantism which Indiana, under the lead of General Harrison, took in the Chicago Convention was an intense gratification to every Independent, and the Republicans have received practically their unanimous support. The Democrats have stood upon the “Electoral Commission Fraud,” the United States marshals in the South, and General Garfield’s personal shortcomings, and they have been led by a State organ which probably has no equal in political corruption and dishonesty. On their side the Republicans had a superabundance of excellent questions for discussion: the civil service, the silver coinage, the green-

backs, tariff reforms, and business prosperity were national issues of the highest order. There were State questions equally good: the removal of the outrageous burden imposed by the fees of our county officers, the purification of our elections, and the riddance of the State from the curse of an October election, had all been defeated by the action of the Democratic party. An equally strong argument against that party was its criminal and barbarous application of the spoils doctrine to our extensive benevolent institutions, filled with unfortunate and helpless wards of the State. Mr. Schurz delivered one of the first speeches. The thousands who crowded to hear him and the thousands who tried but were unable to get within hearing seemed a clear indication of the desire of the people to hear a candid discussion of our real political problems. But any hopes that the managers would take high ground were not realized. Why General Harrison, in no sense a politician, never courting popularity, despising bossism, loving good government, and able to do much toward giving a proper bent to the campaign, did not do so I cannot say. His speeches in no way rank above the average campaign speeches of the last fifteen years. On every hand the Chicago platform was kicked aside and a fishing operation begun to find something which would stir up the people. I have heard of civil service being mentioned in two cases; the silver coinage and the retirement of the greenbacks not at all. Financial discussions were discouraged. One member of the State Committee remarked in my hearing, “The less we say about finance in this country the better we are off.” After Mr. Schurz no one who held independent opinions was put forward, and the class of orators who did find favor with the committees, after floundering awhile, took to the only subject to which they had ever given any serious attention, and fell tooth and nail upon the South. Mr. Logan gave us his peculiar views in his peculiar manner, the campaign became thoroughly Stalwart, and speakers brought in from the South added their fuel to the pile all were attempting to light. For weeks the State resounded with hoarse cries and falsetto shrieks to the effect that the Democrats of to-day were “the same old party we had to fight in 1861.”

But it began to be apparent, and especially so after the Maine election, that the Solid South issue was not going to avail to carry this State. The great body of voters had scarcely looked up from their work, and the soldiers failed to “rally” in satisfactory numbers. Then the managers began to declare their intention of buying enough votes to accomplish the end. The State Committee gave a good indication of its attitude when it answered a man, who asked for funds to bring home voters who were out of the State and not able to come at their own expense, that it could buy three voters on the spot for what it would cost to bring home one. But against the purchasing policy the better Republicans cried out so decidedly that their State organ, owned by the chairman of the State Committee, felt compelled to say that while then if ever the Republicans would be justified in buying votes, yet it was not their intention to do so. At last they got General Grant to issue a call for the “Boys in Blue” to meet in Indianapolis, and Mr. Conkling condescended to be the speaker. Then they were frightened at what they had done, for they remembered the thousands of Republicans here who, at the time of the Chicago Convention, openly declared this pair an unsightly object. In absolute despair they were driven to the discussion of new questions, and the machine deftly changed its gearing to run in the new direction. The cry against the South was in great part dropped. The good times were lauded on every hand, and business men were thoroughly frightened and got to active work by awful pictures of the results of “a change.” High tariff was extolled and explained to the workingmen, just as it would have been denounced had that been necessary to get votes. The fact that Mr. De Pauw, the glass manufacturer at New Albany, and a lifelong Democrat, had come over to the Republicans for fear of Democratic free-trade, suddenly became of vast importance and probably changed more votes than any other influence. General Grant never appeared, and the great reunion of the “Boys in Blue” turned out to be a very large procession of business men and citizens of Indianapolis and its neighborhood, in which were mingled a few soldiers’ organizations; in the preparations beforehand and in this crowd Mr. Conkling was allowed to be forgotten.

Toward the close of the campaign each State organ began to accuse the other party of bringing into the State classes of persons of which the following names, taken from the issues of the same day, represent part: repeaters, blood-tubs, plug-uglies, murderers, thieves, cut-throats, desperadoes, jail-birds, garroters, felons, hounds, ruffians, shoulder-hitters, bullies, and shoulder-strikers. Each charged the other party with intending violence, until, judging from these two papers, we were on the verge of anarchy. Two days before the election a man named McCorkle, the Democratic sheriff of an adjoining county, died of wounds received in quelling a drunken brawl. The next morning the State organ of that party appeared in mourning, holding this death to be caused by the Republicans, and in several tragic editorials dwelling upon McCorkle’s memory and untimely end. On the same day, in the Republican organ, there appeared two editorials, one of them, at least, written by Mr. George C. Gorham, Secretary of the Republican National

Committee. These editorials together stated that the Democrats had formed a military organization; that their plan was to go early and vote, and then meet at a rendezvous; then their "imported bullies" were to get up a riot with the Republicans; then the Democratic military organization, armed with the State arms, was to be called out by the Governor, and the ballot-boxes in Republican wards were to be seized and "rifled or changed." The Republicans were called upon to organize, and were told that "the way not to be shot was to be able to shoot," and a meeting of all citizens was called to meet at ten o'clock that morning. To that meeting came Senator McDonald and Mr. English, and both disclaimed all knowledge of any such organization. But to that meeting did not come a representative of the paper making the charges, nor was any proof of the charges produced, nor has there been up to this time. A professional newspaper correspondent naively stated that, speaking for the class who get up these stories, he would say that three-fourths of them were lies, and he thought they had gone in this manufacture about far enough. Adopting a harmless resolution advising public officers to look to their business, the meeting adjourned in the best of humor, disclosing the fact that the wild raving of the papers had gone completely over the heads of the people; but two more incendiary publications cannot be found than were those organs on the day before the election.

The 10,000 votes, or thereabouts, which the Republicans have gained are made up in the main (1) of Independent votes, (2) of the votes of the bulk of the business men and of votes which they gained by great activity during the last three weeks, (3) of the manufacturers and hundreds of their workmen whom they influenced, (4) votes due to the unpopularity of Mr. Landers, especially with the Greenbackers, whom he deserted for the Democratic nomination, (5) votes due to the unpopularity of Mr. English, and (6) votes of Democrats dissatisfied with the overthrow of the constitutional amendments. The Republicans had such a righteous cause that they won almost in spite of the machine. Down to the time when it was driven to talk of something beside the Solid South it was worthless. The only votes it has gained were gained in the last three weeks and after it began to discuss, even in its selfish way, questions which pertained more to the economic interests of the country. The campaign in Indiana has given another demonstration of the total lack of principle of the Republican machine, and of the hopelessness of ever securing through its agency an honest discussion before the people of things necessary to good government in this country.

C. S. R.

INDIANAPOLIS, October 14, 1880.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The somewhat protracted discussion to which you have so courteously opened your valuable columns on the subject of civil-service reform agitation, seems to me to have settled several questions upon which there was up to this time more or less doubt in the minds of even the most sincere friends of the reform. These are, first, that there is all over the country a large and powerful element in both parties in favor of civil-service reform agitation by means of an education of the masses through publications, broadsides, etc. Furthermore, that very many of these gentlemen are willing to join a society having this object in view, and that sufficient money can easily be procured to pay the necessary expenses. Second, that it is absolutely essential to the efficient working of such a society that it be entirely non-partisan, and that its management be entrusted to gentlemen respected even by the enemies of the movement. The unanimity of sentiment on the part of all your correspondents leaves no doubt as regards this subject. A necessary consequence is that nothing can be done towards the organization of such a society until after the election. Third, that the basis of organization must be modelled somewhat after that of the "Honest Money League" of Chicago—with a central executive committee in New York, and a local auxiliary society wherever there is a sufficient number of members to warrant it. The work of the executive committee should consist in the issuing of broadsides, tracts, and possibly of a separate quarterly organ—though in my opinion, at least, the society would do well to use the columns of the regular press as far as practicable. Auxiliary organizations should receive the publications of the central committee in quantities for distribution, and could, moreover, work for the cause by arranging lectures, meetings, etc., as far as would seem expedient. The basis of membership should be the payment of an annual fee, to be determined upon hereafter, and members should receive the publications regularly and free of charge.

I think I am not far wrong if I take the above as the average result of this interesting discussion. All will agree that it would be a great mistake to let this occasion pass without doing something; and I think that it can be confidently predicted that soon after the election a call for a preliminary meeting, such as was suggested in the first hasty letter on the subject, will be issued, either under the auspices or independently of the old Civil-Service Reform Association of New York. "A. B. M.'s" suggestion, that the Publication Society should not be merely the new edition of a fossil organization

is well worthy of attention, but with regard to the association in question his fears seem groundless. The support of the eminent gentlemen whom this body numbers among its members will be invaluable, and indeed indispensable, for a new society.

That the latter will have to begin by educating some of its originators seems to be indicated by the letter of "W.," in number 798 of the *Nation*. This writer thinks a "clean sweep" may do away with party assessments, while "all experience hath shown" that the latter are secured only by the fear on the part of the officials that there might possibly be a "sweep." If an officer were secure of his place as long as he remained efficient and honest, he would certainly not submit to any forced taxation on the part of a "machine."—Very truly yours,

F. W. H.

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y., Oct. 15, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have heard so much in commendation of the proposed Civil-Service Reform Publication Society that I am convinced that four out of five of those who are interested in the subject underestimate the hold which the reform has in the minds of the people. The defeat of the Grant and Tilden bosses in the recent nominating campaigns was something more than a choice between men—it was a popular reaction against the politician as such; and whatever the result of the coming election, many thousands of voters are being made civil-service reformers by the logic of the positions of the two parties. Most of these converts must come from the Republican party, which, with the aid of Mr. English's demand for a "clean sweep," is now engaged in painting in high lights the peril of a system it has failed to amend. Such adherents, being largely moved by alarm, are not now to be counted as more than a reserve force to be called upon at the proper time to do the voting. The initiative can only be taken by those who believe the reform to be not a mere incidental desideratum, but a fundamental condition of political health. Fortunately, a large proportion of its present advocates have no party sensibilities to be treated gingerly, and can therefore work heartily for a movement which of necessity must assail the record of both parties. It would hardly seem wise or desirable for any one to cast in his lot with this movement who has any expectation of being either a Democrat or a Republican in 1888.

For these reasons—and not for those I see given in the correspondence of the *Nation* on this subject—I favor a non-partisan organization, with officers whose characters are vouchers that the funds will neither be squandered nor misapplied. To such a leadership I can pledge at least five supporters, with an annual contribution.—Respectfully yours,

R. U. J.

NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If you will allow a woman to become a subscriber to your Civil-Service Reform Publication Society, I shall be glad to send you a subscription of five dollars. Any movement which will tend to make politics an honorable and honored occupation may well be supported by women as well as men. Surely the desperate struggle for party spoils is the worm gnawing at the heart of our public life and making our fair republic more and more a mass of corruption at the core.

H.

NEW JERSEY, October 14, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I will give \$20 a year for five years to a society formed for the purpose of purifying the civil service. If any section of the nation has felt the want of an upright and impartial administration of the civil service more than any other, it is that part of the nation which believed so strongly in the defunct doctrine of State sovereignty as to risk life and fortune to maintain it. I agree with "A. B. M." in believing that a new and non-partisan society will be most likely to succeed.—Respectfully,

O. H. COOPER.

HUNTSVILLE, TEXAS, Oct. 12, 1880.

[We are able to announce, as the result of all this discussion, that active steps are being taken for a reorganization of the old Civil-Service Reform Association in the direction indicated by "F. W. H." We believe the work will be completed and the result announced immediately after the election, and those who have already expressed their willingness to contribute money receive notice personally of the readiness of the Society to receive it. A public statement will be made of the objects of the organization and of the means by which it proposes to accomplish them. As we understand it, no direct political action or influence by the Society is contemplated, or, indeed, would be possible on the part of a non-partisan body. It will confine itself to efforts to create a public opinion favorable to such a change in the administrative machinery of the Government as will take the subordinate offices "out of politics."—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

D. APPLETON & CO. announce among their fall publications a new edition of 'American Painters,' largely extended by engravings after the works of artists not included in the first edition; a companion volume of contemporary 'British Painters'; the Memoirs of Jefferson Davis; Sir Charles Gavan's 'Young Ireland'; Jennings's 'Anecdotal History of the British Parliament'; and, in the International Scientific Series, 'Sight,' by Prof. Joseph Le Conte.—Lockwood, Brooks & Co., Boston, have in press 'Literary Remains of the Rev. Charles Henry Brigham,' late of Ann Arbor, Michigan, edited by Messrs. Livermore and Wilson; and an 'American Poets' Calendar,' being selections for every day in the year, with chromatic and other designs by the Misses Hyde, of Norwich Town, Conn.—Harroun & Bierstadt, 58 Reade Street, send us a specimen of their series of eight artotype views of the several stages of landing and re-erecting the obelisk now nearing its resting-place in Central Park. They are valuable records of a great undertaking.—In the *Popular Science Monthly* for November Herbert Spencer begins a series of articles on the "Development of Political Institutions."—The Cincinnati Art Museum Fund has been fully subscribed, and amounts to \$300,000, enough for the beginning of a building on a plan capable of extension.—The Metropolitan Museum of Art was reopened yesterday, with a new loan exhibition of paintings. The free days will be, as heretofore, those following Tuesday.—The University of Virginia is endeavoring to raise \$8,000 to ensure a gift of \$25,000 from Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt for an observatory, and a fifty-thousand dollar telescope promised conditionally by Mr. Leander McCormick. Mr. Vanderbilt's condition is the raising of an endowment fund of \$50,000.—The Worcester correspondent of the Salem (Mass.) *Gazette* makes an appeal for funds to print the MS. remains of the late Dr. Bentley, who died in 1819, and whose papers are said to be "rich in information of a most various nature" in relation to old Salem, its family and municipal history, manners, etc.—The *Newport Historical Magazine* for October continues its valuable reprint of the records of births and marriages in that town and in Middletown, and begins the publication of Dr. Turner's paper on Governor Jeremiah Clarke and his family, who have held a singularly prominent position in the government of the colony and the State of Rhode Island.—Parents who have already found in Miss C. M. Hewins's *Bulletin* of the Hartford Library Association valuable suggestions how to teach children to like good books, will find a valuable page on "How to teach the right use of books" in the October issue.

—Mr. M. D. Conway pursues, in the November *Harper's*, his demonologic journey through Touraine, dealing this time with the St. Mexme of the town of Chinon under cover of a chat about "Rabelais at Home." There is a readable summary, in another paper, of the St. Cecilia legends, garnished with specimens of what inspiration the artists and the poets have derived from them; Dryden, Addison, and Pope being thus brought into juxtaposition at full length. Mr. W. H. Gibson's "Autumn Pastoral" has the usual qualities of his pen and pencil, and Mr. John W. Chadwick's "In Western Massachusetts" tells pleasantly of the town of Chesterfield and its vicinity, in which the writer made the discovery that "New England is dotted all over with homesteads going to decay, which can be purchased for a song, and made habitable and even charming for a few hundred dollars." It is well to remark, for the benefit of those who prefer the shore to the highlands, that this holds good of the inexhaustible coast, and not of New England alone; for example, we dare say, of that region concerning which Mr. Gaston Fay is prudently reticent of names and direction when treating of certain "Saline Types." The peculiar characteristics of a population of small farmers, fishermen, sportsmen, and wreckers withal are grotesquely and pungently described with sufficient freedom of imagination, and Mr. Fay in conjunction with Mr. A. B. Frost supplies the pictorial representations of his "types." Apart from the artistic merit of these, which in some cases is very great, they deserve to be studied by foreign artists who attempt to illustrate American works of fiction. We have in mind particularly the designs in the *Cornhill* for Mr. Henry James, jr.'s "Washington Square," which in the current *Harper's* is approaching its crisis, happily before the heroine's ruin is complete. Mr. Walton's report upon the Norfolk County schools furnishes Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., a text for a discourse on "Scientific Common-School Education," which turns on the production of professional superintendents, through the universities, by means of "another and distinct post-graduate course, with chairs occupied by professors of pedagogy, as it is called, but which is in reality nothing but the familiar science of psychology." In closing its sixty-first volume *Harper's* has many announcements to make, but none more interesting than that the magazine will with the next number begin to be published in London as well as in New York. This means, of course, that the "contraband" literary features in which it has hitherto indulged will be dropt, or else maintained by some international comity. Liberty in the choice of illustrations must also be curtailed.

—Mr. Henry James, jr., begins "The Portrait of a Lady" in the November *Atlantic* (and also, by the way, in the October *Macmillan*). It is apparently to be another study in spiritual dissection, and as such promises well, though the work is hardly more than cut out in the five chapters here printed. It is a return to the "international" plan, and argues that "Washington Square" may be regarded as in this respect a momentary aberration. Prof. N. S. Shaler has a paper on "The Future of Weather-Foretelling," to which we may recur hereafter. S. J. Barrows writes enthusiastically of "The Silk Industry in America," and the rest of the number is rather light. We ought perhaps to except from this characterization an indescribable series of denotating observations by Miss Phelps, entitled "What is a Fact?"—which divulges the truth—or shall we say fact?—that "the MENTAL SCIENCES EXIST," and that their phenomena are as much facts as any of the facts of baldly material science. There is a weak point in the argument, it will be anticipated; but we owe Miss Phelps a phrase which, considering its setting, is nothing less than a stroke of genius—namely, "the marked uselessness of discussion with the initial moods of 'emancipated minds.'" Mr. G. P. Lathrop discourses with every intention (and not unsuccessfully upon the whole) of lightness on "Philosophy and Apples," meaning the Concord School; Mr. Higginson conducts prettily enough "A Search for the Pleiades," which we will not further describe; the Washington gossip is entertaining as usual, if, indeed, it does not grow in interest now that the writer feels more certain than he did at first, perhaps, of the copiousness of his material; Mr. Richard Grant White, in "Letters and Notes from England," makes the mistake, we think, of supposing extracts at hap-hazard from his own letters "home" popularly interesting, and seems unmindful of the risk of spoiling an excellent series by tapering off into garrulity. The poetry of the number calls for no special mention, and this is not a good review month, though there is plenty of evident effort after excellence, and one or two of the graver notices have the merit of exciting in the reader a desire to know more of the work noticed.

—Colonel Mapleson opened his third season of Italian opera in New York on Monday night before a delighted and crowded audience. Donizetti's "Lucia," which had been selected for this occasion, seems to possess unfading attractions for the popular mind, and the reappearance of Madame Gerster in one of her favorite parts, and the debut of a new tenor, Sig. Ravelli, made the performance particularly interesting. Madame Gerster was received with a great burst of applause, and several minutes elapsed before she could begin her part. Nothing new can be said about this charming artist. Her voice is as rich, pure, and sympathetic as ever, her method is perfect, and her acting thoroughly artistic. Such rounds of applause as rewarded her efforts after the celebrated duo with the flute in the third act have seldom re-echoed within the walls of an American theatre. The new tenor cannot be called a great singer, but he is, nevertheless, a very desirable acquisition to the Mapleson company. His voice is very even and sympathetic and of pure lyric quality. He sings in tune, is young and good-looking, and, like most of his countrymen—he is a Frenchman—an excellent actor. Signor Galassi, as *Ashton*, has never failed to delight his audience, and was again as satisfactory as ever. The orchestral performance under Signor Arditi was in every respect successful.

—Mr. Constantin Sternberg, a Russian pianist, made his first appearance in America under particularly unfavorable circumstances. In the first place, he had been very imprudently advertised as one of the most eminent of living virtuosos, while it became evident before he had played many bars that he is a young artist possessed of some very desirable qualities, but having as yet no claim to rank among the distinguished pianists who of late years have been heard in New York. Mr. Sternberg has very considerable powers of execution, but his interpretation is cold, conventional, and without intelligence, wanting in fine effects of light and shade, and in delicate and artistic phrasing. This became at once evident in the concerto by Scharwenka in B flat minor, with which he introduced himself. The three "Scenes from Norway," by Grieg, which he selected for solo pieces, are really too unimportant to require comment. They are little drawing-room pieces within comfortable reach of an ordinary amateur, and to choose such music for a debut was most unfortunate before an audience accustomed to the wonderful programmes which artists like Essipoff, Bulow, and Joseffy have introduced here. In his last number, Liszt's "Rhapsodie Espagnole," the artist's technical powers were decidedly at fault. He was unable to master the great difficulties which this most uninteresting composition presents. A serious drawback to Mr. Sternberg's success in any event was the choice of a hall. The Academy of Music is not a place for pianists of his stamp. It requires the strength of Rubinstein to fill it, and whatever effects Mr. Sternberg might be able to produce were lost in the great building. The artist was not much more fortunate in a concert which he gave in Madison Square Theatre, where he played compositions by Liszt, Chopin, Saint-Saëns, and Moskowski, and a polonaise of his own.

—Ferdinand Hiller, who is much more favorably known to music-lovers

as a good conductor and prolific writer on musical topics than by his numerous but very commonplace compositions, contributes to the *Rundschau* for September an article on the attitude of different classes of society towards music. Where so many individual differences prevail it is somewhat unsafe to hazard general statements, yet it is of interest to know what conclusions forced themselves on an observant mind during a long life of varied and rich experience in musical circles. A body of French scientists once voted that music occupied about the same level as smoking. Between the class represented by these *savants* and the musical enthusiast whose eyes gather tears every time he hears an *adagio*, there are intermediate stages. What is most universally appreciated in music is the rhythmical element, as is attested by the popularity of dance-music, in which rhythm is the predominant feature. Variety and richness of tone-color as given by a full orchestra stand next in the estimation of the multitude, while musical ideas pure and simple, as in a string-quartet, where most of these embellishments have to be dispensed with, appeal to the smallest circle of hearers. From absolute music of this sort the executants themselves derive the greatest amount of enjoyment, while a majority of the audience listen in a dreamlike state from which they are only aroused by the recurrence of very distinct melodies which they may greet as acquaintances already met with. As to the sexes, the votaries of music, as of religion, are more numerous among females than males, for reasons apparent to all; but women are very apt to transfer their love from the music to the musician. In regard to professions, Hiller found in his personal experience more love of music among physicians than among lawyers, more among philologists than among philosophers. The former is easily understood, while the latter must have been purely accidental. Theologians are divided into two camps, to one of which, whatever may be its personal tastes, is prescribed an abhorrence of all music except that which is distinctly sacred, while the other is at liberty to follow its own inclinations. Music gains many recruits from theological students, while the reverse is seldom the case. When professional men and men of science do take an interest in music they usually prefer the better kinds. Between men of letters or poets and musicians there is a certain rivalry; their products often appear united before the public, and each is apt to regard the share of the other as subordinate to his own. But it must be observed that a bad poem set to good music has a much better chance of success than a good poem wedded to poor music. On the whole, Hiller thinks men of letters are less accessible to the influence of music than men of science, because the latter find in music a source of emotional nourishment which the former derive from other quarters. The representatives of the plastic arts, and especially painters, are frequently enthusiastic admirers of music. Hiller might have added that at the Bayreuth festival in 1876 the list of famous painters present was larger than that of the representatives of any other art. Finally, as to the musicians themselves, whose attitude towards their art varies very much with their position, each has his personal equation which prevents him from looking at a composition from a purely objective point of view. Singers are apt to approve or disapprove of a piece accordingly as it affords them opportunity to display their good points; and to some extent this is true of orchestras and their leaders, who may also become prejudiced against certain works by excessive repetition, especially in the opera. The disadvantage of the critic is that he must always be on the lookout for points and think of what he has got to say, which prevents him from enjoying a work in that naive and purely receptive state of mind for which it was intended, while composers often succumb to the weakness of opposing altogether too violently works written on principles they do not approve of. This last remark is evidently introspective.

—We have several times commented upon the extraordinary German tariff legislation of last year, and our Berlin correspondent, in a letter published in No. 795, again calls attention to the motives of this tariff and to some of its mischievous results. One particular point of special interest to Americans—the question of lumber, as exported from our Southern States—seems to have escaped general observation. It appears that, thanks to its intrinsic worth, so considerable quantities of American hard-pine lumber have been imported into Germany that the producers of wood in that country took alarm and rallied to exclude the intruder. One of the most curious features of the effort to check the importation of the wood was the presentation of a petition by the timber merchants of Berlin to the Chancellor of the Empire, in which is set forth the value of German oak and pine (*Kiefer*) as contrasted with that of American yellow pine. This petition, which is a somewhat lengthy document, has every appearance of having been “inspired” by some one in the Chancellor’s office; but the ostensible ground on which it is based is that the lumber dealers have been pained to see American yellow pine used in the construction of certain public buildings at Berlin to the prejudice of domestic woods. They therefore humbly pray that no more of this American wood shall be used upon any public work. The petition goes on to name some of the advantages which are commonly claimed for the American wood, and strives to rebut them one by one; the burden of the argument being that there are German woods good enough for all practical pur-

poses, that the hard-pine is not well fitted for many uses, and that the continued importation of it will seriously depress the price of domestic lumber. The point is taken that inasmuch as the American wood is imported in a partially-manufactured condition, many German laborers must suffer as well as mill-owners and the proprietors of forests. Prince Bismarck maintained in the Reichstag that American wood was inferior, and professed to be mystified at the preference manifested for it. The duty now in force upon sawn lumber imported into the German Empire is but a small fraction less than 2½ cents for 100 lbs. avoirdupois. That is to say, in order that the owners of the German forests may find a ready market for their trees, the construction of the best possible buildings in that country is hindered, hampered, and made difficult to the extent which this sum represents.

—The Royal Library at Stockholm has published two remarkably well-printed numbers of its “Handlingar”—Transactions, or, as libraries here usually say, Bulletin. The first contained the yearly report for 1878, and a list of Sweden’s older liturgical literature; the second gave the report for 1879, and an account of the epistolary collection in the library. Each correspondence is described in a general way in from half a page to a couple of pages, and a list of the correspondents’ names is given, with the years covered and the number of the letters. At the end of the volume an index refers to every writer’s name. Of course many belong to persons known only in Sweden. We see, however, the names of Axel Oxenstierna, Hugo Grotius, Charles XII. and several other of the kings, and among the writers of one or two letters Beaumarchais, Frederic the Great, A. W. von Schlegel, Tegnér, Voltaire, and Oehlenschläger. It will be an excellent thing if libraries which have valuable collections of manuscript letters get into the way of publishing such lists as this. We remember only a single similar one issued by a library in this country, the list of manuscripts at the end of the catalogue of the Prince collection in the Boston Public Library. We might add the catalogue of President Sparks’s MSS., which are now deposited in Harvard College Library, though that was published by Mrs. Sparks and not by the Library. In both these catalogues the subject of each letter was briefly given.

RECENT NAVAL REPORTS.*

THE three books named below may be said, without exaggeration, to form a complete though concise summary of the condition of naval science and naval affairs throughout the world at this date. The authors are well qualified for their respective tasks: Chief Engineer King has been chief of a bureau in the Navy Department, and is well known to all naval men by his admirable report, published in 1877, on “European Ships-of-War”; Professor Soley has for several years been at the head of the department of English studies at the Naval Academy, and is the author of a history of that institution; Commander Chadwick is an officer of twenty years’ service, of high standing in his profession, and identified with the training system in our own service. One book tells us of ships, engines, guns, and dockyards; another of the education of officers; and the third of the training of seamen: taken together they form an encyclopædia of naval knowledge. The greatest practical value of such knowledge—which doubtless always exists in various pigeon-holes of the Navy Department, but has not previously been laid before the world in such a comprehensive and intelligent form—is to enable not only naval experts, but every intelligent reader, to form a just estimate of our own position among the naval powers of the world, and to learn whether we receive an adequate return for the sums of money, ranging from fourteen to twenty millions of dollars annually, which we bestow on our Navy in these times of peace.

Mr. Soley describes in detail the courses of study and the management of the various schools of different grades devoted to naval education in England, France, Germany, and Italy. Among these details there may be many valuable hints to naval officers, but the general bearing of the whole subject is mainly interesting to lay readers. From the experience of Germany and Italy, whose navies have been created within the last twenty years and have yet to prove their merits or defects, but little is to be learned. In the English service the author finds that boys are taken at the age of thirteen, placed on a stationary ship for two years, during which they are crammed with a course far beyond their age and capacities, and which, in fact, they do not acquire; then sent to sea on regular cruises for five years; at the end of which time they are brought home and set to work for six months, at the naval school at Greenwich, on a course which it would be impossible to acquire in so short a time, but which in reality is the same course they were supposed to have learned five years before. Professor Soley is therefore “led to the conclusion that the high scientific and professional acquirements of many English naval officers are not in consequence, but in spite, of their early educa-

* The War-Ships and Navies of the World. By Chief Engineer J. W. King, U. S. Navy. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1880.

Report on Foreign Systems of Naval Education. By Professor James Russell Soley, U. S. Navy. Washington: Government Printing-Office. 1880.

Report on the Training of Seamen in England and France. By Lieutenant-Commander F. E. Chadwick, U. S. Navy. Washington: Government Printing-Office. 1880.

tion." On the other hand, he found everything to admire in the French system, which takes boys at sixteen from the *lycées*, where they have received a thorough elementary education, and devotes two years to their professional studies in the naval school at Brest, followed by a year of service at sea on a practice-ship. Yet by common consent the English are more skilful sailors than the French. As our own system of education, which has now been in existence for thirty-five years, has produced a body of officers who are not surpassed by those of any other nation in professional acquirements, naval aptitude, or uprightness of character, it may fairly be presumed that we have little to learn, except in minor details, on the subject of education.

If we pass from the officers to the men, however, we find no such flattering picture. Mr. Chadwick mentions incidentally that the last ship in which he served "had, in a crew of three hundred and one men, the representatives of seventeen different nationalities," including natives of Finland and the Sandwich Islands. Nor was this an exceptional ship. A few years ago a large portion of the "landsmen" who manned our ships-of-war could not understand the language of the country they were serving! Such a state of affairs is certainly in glaring contrast to the condition of England, which has nearly twenty thousand educated seamen ("blue-jackets"), which annually turns out three thousand educated boys, bound to serve until their twenty-ninth year; where, by means of the training system, "the sailor has been made a man of high respectability, instead of the drunken, careless fellow of some years since"; and where "the men who man her ships are a body of whom England is justly proud." The training system, in brief, consists of taking boys at the age of sixteen, and giving them an elementary education on board ships employed for this special purpose, at the same time that they learn their practical duties as sailors. After three or four years of instruction they are sent to sea on regular cruisers. They are bound to serve for a certain period, and in the English service special inducements are offered for re-enlistment. The advantages of the system are too obvious to need enumeration, and its cost is very slight. It has long been in vogue in England, and was introduced in our own service a few years since. Its details are specified with great minuteness in Commander Chadwick's report. He also gives an account of the training systems for the merchant service, the necessity for which is apparent from the following facts: "In 1877 the losses of the English marine comprised 560 sailing vessels and 68 steamers, representing a value, with cargoes, of \$18,000,000. With these ships were lost 2,700 lives. Two-thirds of these wrecks are set down by the British Board of Trade as the result of ignorance and incompetency. There would thus (taking the losses of England alone) be a saving of \$12,000,000 if the masters were better fitted for their duties." Although there is one school-ship of this class maintained by the State of New York, it does not meet the demands of even a portion of our mercantile marine. The system might well be extended, and this portion of Commander Chadwick's report could be studied to advantage by the shipping interest.

Of Chief-Engineer King's book it is hardly possible to speak too highly. When his former report on European ships-of-war was published it was at once recognized by all naval authorities as so comprehensive and so original in method and treatment as to constitute a novelty in naval literature; it quickly found its way to every war-ship afloat, and has since retained its place as a standard book of reference. The present volume is much larger, being a stout octavo of over six hundred pages; it brings the subject down to date, and in general bears about the same relation to the previous report as a treatise to a school text-book. More than one-third of the book is naturally devoted to the English navy, which has been the battle-ground of all the opposing theories about naval architecture and naval artillery that have been evolved during the twenty years in which both of these sciences have been completely revolutionized; but the navies of other nations—twenty-two in all—are fully described in proportion to their importance. For each of the twelve most important of these nations is given a table showing the name of each ship, and its dimensions, character and thickness of armor, kind of engines, number and size of guns, speed, displacement, etc., etc. For the modern ships a type of each class is selected and described in great detail, with drawings showing all its essential features. There is also a full discussion of modern great guns, of torpedoes, of marine engines and ship-building. The appearance of trustworthy and well-digested data on these subjects, from an author who has visited nearly every great dock-yard and arsenal in Europe and inspected every type of modern ship-of-war, is most timely; for, as we showed the other day in reviewing Lieutenant Very's work, the ships in our Navy have been steadily degenerating in comparison with those of other powers, until now they have reached such a state of inefficiency that a thorough reconstruction must be effected or we must cease to be considered a great naval power, and this in spite of the fact that the sums expended on our Navy in the last fifteen years have been far in excess of those expended by any other nation except England and France. In number of armored ships we stand sixth on the list, in tonnage eighth, in number of guns tenth. We have not a single sea-going iron-clad of the character possessed by eleven other nations, not a single iron-built ship sheathed with wood, only one fast cruiser of modern type

and effective size, only sixteen rifled guns afloat, and these not larger than eight inches in calibre. Our Navy, in short, consists of a few monitors left over from the war, equally incapable of venturing to sea or meeting in action the modern armored ships of other powers, and of about forty wooden cruisers, three-fourths of which are of the type which excited the admiration of the world twenty-five years ago, but which are now almost as much inferior to the rapid cruisers of European nations as sailing ships are inferior to themselves. Moreover, the average cost of repairing our wooden hulls during the five years from 1870 to 1875, as stated in an official table quoted by Mr. King, was little less than \$300,000 per vessel; whereas the cost of repairing an iron or composite ship of the modern type is but \$70,000 in ten years.

These are a few of the facts which attract attention in perusing this admirable book. They warrant the statement that our naval expenditures, which amount to one-fourteenth of our revenue, are so misdirected that it may almost be said that they are wholly wasted. Under existing laws the naval officials are obliged to expend enormous sums in patching up old ships in order to make some show of a force afloat. We cannot have iron ships because the lumber interests are opposed to it; we cannot have proper guns because the iron interests are not agreed among themselves who shall construct them. Between the upper and nether millstones of these conflicting interests the Navy is being ground to pieces; and this state of affairs is likely to continue until the public takes some interest in the matter, and compels these rival industries to subordinate their private advantage to the public welfare. When the public mind, as represented in Congress, is ready to demand that we shall have efficient ships and guns in place of the antiquated affairs for which we are now paying so heavily, the data contained in Chief-Engineer King's book, comprising as it does the costly experience of the whole world in building up modern navies, will be simply invaluable. It is to be hoped that the book itself will hasten the arrival of that time.

FROM CHINA TO INDIA OVERLAND.*

CAPTAIN GILL'S book is the latest and most important of recent works on China, though the author gives us simply his diary written from day to day during a journey of some four thousand miles and extending over a period of thirteen months. Its bright, vivacious style, and the occasional graphic pictures of the country and its inhabitants, their peculiarities in habit, dress, and agriculture, render it very attractive. True, it adds little to our knowledge in these respects, as only in a single instance did Captain Gill pass over ground untrodden by previous travellers. His claim to a high rank among travellers, however, rests upon his contributions to our geographical knowledge of China. For over a thousand miles, to quote the words of Sir R. Alcock on the presentation to the author of the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society last year, "he made a traverse survey of all the remote westerly region, and took a careful series of hypsometrical measurements, the result of which is that we have now an accurate knowledge of the elevation and configuration of that great extent of mountainous country, besides a clear idea of its geography, from the admirable map in forty-two sheets which Captain Gill has presented to the Society." He landed in China, very opportunely, in the fall of 1876, just as the convention known as the "Agreement of Chefoo" was concluded with England. To a clause in the convention "enjoining the local authorities to give protection to foreign travellers" is due the fact "that Englishmen may travel in comfort throughout the vast empire." No doubt the uniform courtesy with which our author was treated was owing in great measure to his personal courage and tact in dealing with the people, and especially the petty officials. His testimony, however, is amply confirmed by that of Mr. McCarthy, an English missionary, who preceded him over the most dangerous part of his journey through the province of Yunnan to Burmah. In a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society this gentleman says: "I was not once called upon to produce my passport, nor had I once to appeal to any official for help or protection. From the people everywhere I received only civility and kindness."

In the first chapters of his work Captain Gill gives a brief account of his journey to Peking and a trip which he made to the province of Pe-Chi-Li, to the northeast of the capital and beyond the Great Wall. A great part of the country visited was under water, and the scenery was monotonous in the extreme from the wearisome alternations of swamp and level plain. After a lively description of Shanghai and a shooting excursion on the Grand Canal, we are fairly launched on the great river which gives its name to the book. The Yang-tze-kiang, the largest river of Asia and the fourth in size in the world, unless the Congo should be found to supplant it, has different names in different parts of its course. The name Ocean River, by which it is known to Englishmen, is applied only to that part nearest the sea. From the borders of Tibet to Fu-chu, in the province of Sze-Chwan, much the longest

* The River of Golden Sand. The narrative of a journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah. With illustrations and ten maps from original surveys. By Capt. William Gill, R.E. With an introductory essay by Col. Henry Yule, C.B., R.E. In two volumes. London: J. Murray. 1879.

part of its course, it is called the Kin-sha-kiang—river of golden sand. In the steppes of Tibet it receives the name of Mu-rui-ussu, or winding water. Its source is one of the yet unsolved geographical problems of the day, but is probably to be found not far from lat. 36° and long. 90° . The river journey of 1,500 miles to Chung-Ching, in an American-built steamer as far as Hankow, 680 miles, in a junk for the remainder of the distance, calls for no particular remark. It is only when the author leaves this city that his narrative has the charm of novelty. In making his arrangements for his transport into the comparatively unknown territory to the northwest he refers to a very elaborate agreement which he made with a coolie-master as to the most minute details of the journey:

"But, unlike English documents," he adds, "this charter, once drawn up and verbally agreed to by the coolie-master and myself, required neither witness nor signature, but, being confided to the depths of my pocket, was as valid, according to Chinese usage, as the most formal document that ever issued from Lincoln's Inn. This confidence that people have in one another is a feature in the character of the people that has been strangely unnoticed by foreign writers. Merchants in China rely implicitly on one another; indeed, if they did not, all business would come to an end at once. In my position I was over and over again compelled to trust the Chinese with large sums of money without receiving any receipt, and in other ways to rely on their probity to a far greater extent than I should have trusted Europeans, or Chinese if I could have avoided it. But I was never deceived in the smallest degree, nor did I lose anything during all the time I was travelling."

At Chung-Ching the river was left and the remainder of the journey was made on foot or pony back, the baggage being carried by coolies. These men carry enormous loads. Captain Gill mentions overtaking a "somewhat slenderly-built carrier freighted with twenty-two of the Ya-chau packages [of tea], which must, at the lowest computation, have exceeded 400 pounds in weight!" Their pay is as small as their burdens are great. For carrying six packages 150 miles, or twenty days' journey, over an exceedingly mountainous country a coolie receives 1.8 taels, or about \$2.59. The province of Szr-Chwan, through which Captain Gill now passed, is "one of the most beautiful, perhaps the richest, and for foreigners certainly the most pleasant, in the empire." The roads and inns were good. Village schools were numerous, and the country everywhere bore witness to a long-continued peace and prosperity. Ching-tu-fu, the capital, was thronged with candidates for the examinations and it was difficult to find a lodging. Here, as frequently afterwards, our traveller received cordial and efficient aid from the French missionaries. From this point he took what he terms a "loop-cast" to the Northern Alps, a region the greater part of which had never been visited by any European. His route lay among the mountains which run parallel with the vast range separating China from Tibet. In some of the remoter valleys he found villages of the Man-tse, people speaking a Tibetan dialect, who are supposed to be the descendants of the original inhabitants. "The houses are of stone, and the lower part is like a fort, with a few narrow windows like loopholes; there is a flat roof, and on part of this a kind of shed is erected, also flat-roofed and open to the front. There is a high tower in each village. These are usually square; but I once saw an octagonal one." The Man-tse appear to be independent, but are gradually disappearing before the irresistible advance of the Chinese. In one of the larger towns of this district Captain Gill saw for the first time the Margary proclamation. This was in accordance with the Chefoo convention, by which the Chinese Government bound itself to post throughout the empire a document reciting the facts of Mr. Margary's murder, dwelling upon the gravity of the offence and charging upon officials to protect travellers, "and to study the treaty of Tien-tsin." This proclamation was afterwards seen at almost every stopping place. The next town of importance which he reached was Ta-chien-lu, lying at the foot of the mountains in a district in which the government is administered by both Chinese and Tibetan officials. Here the tea is prepared for the Tibetan market, and it is estimated that about ten million pounds pay duty annually, and in addition a large quantity is smuggled over the border. Between this place and Batang, the frontier town, the road at but a single point descends below 10,000 feet above the sea-level. Four of the passes are over 15,000 feet and one is 16,568 feet. Yet even at this height there was no snow, and just below the summit "wild flowers of every color were growing." At this season—August—"a carpet of luxuriant grass covered the whole surface of the hills and dales; the richness of the pasture was astonishing, and thousands of yaks and sheep were feeding on the magnificent vegetation." At Batang Captain Gill's progress westward was barred by the determination of the Lamas to prevent any foreigners from entering Tibet, and the traveller turned to the southward along the banks of the "river of golden sand." The country bore a poverty-stricken appearance, chiefly on account of the oppressions of the Lamas, who have possessed themselves of most of the arable and pasture land, but pay no taxes. These are levied without abatement on the dispossessed people, who are either becoming Lamas themselves or are emigrating into the neighboring province of Yunnan. At Shik-ku, where the river turns to the eastward, 2,500 miles from its mouth, it "was so swollen by the constant rain that it was more like an immense sea than a river." Yunnan, though naturally one of the richest of

the provinces of the empire, had not yet recovered from the desolation consequent upon the Mohammedan rebellion at the time of Captain Gill's visit. Ta-li-fu, the capital of the rebels and formerly a very important place, was then "little better than a ruin." A somewhat wearisome journey of thirty days through a comparatively uninteresting country brought our author safely to Blamo, the border town of Burmah, thus accomplishing successfully, what till recently has been impracticable, the overland passage from China to India.

The work is edited by Colonel Henry Yule, who contributes a valuable introductory chapter on the geography of Tibet, together with a brief account of the various expeditions which preceded that of Captain Gill.

A History of Classical Greek Literature. By the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, M.A., Fellow and Professor of Ancient History, Trinity College, Dublin. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1880.)—Mr. Mahaffy, whose 'Social Life in Greece' made him, if not celebrated, well known, has given us in these two volumes a very readable and interesting account of the classical writers of Greece. The scope of his work did not allow him to include the post-classical period; hence, the first volume, which discusses the poets, terminates with Menander, while his second does not extend beyond the lost historians of the fourth century B.C. Hitherto a kind of fatality has attached to English histories of Greek literature. O. Müller's admirable sketch, written expressly for English students, in a transparent and most un-German style, was cut short by his premature death, and rather unequally supplemented by Donaldson. Colonel Mure's work is disfigured by a vicious redundancy of words, as well as by a standpoint which, with Mr. Mahaffy and most sane critics, we cannot but regard as too often uncritical. Moreover, the size and costliness of both these works place them beyond the reach of ordinary students. Thus, there is not only room but an actual demand for a work which, like the present, aims at giving with an account of each writer a condensed summary of modern criticism upon them.

Mr. Mahaffy starts with one great advantage: he is thoroughly readable and lively. His History will be read through by those who begin it, and is rarely, if ever, fatiguing. Hence it is likely to be popular with younger students, whether in schools or universities, whether male or female. It might easily be got up for an examination, and is sufficiently learned to flatter those who read it into the belief that they are masters (or mistresses) of the subject. We recommend it in particular to those who combine the sexes in mixed classes and teach both together. Yet light and unpedantic as it is, it contains the result of long and laborious study, and this not merely of the authors themselves, but of the literature, in some cases enormous, upon them. Thus, the discussion on Homer, without affecting to be learned or exhaustive, is a really admirable résumé of the fluctuation of opinion on the origin and composition of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' from Wolf to our own time. The chapter on Euripides, a poet on whom the author has written a special monograph, is thoroughly adequate and appreciatory; that on Sophocles will please most readers less, for Sophocles, in Mr. Mahaffy's judgment, has been overrated. Few will agree with him that the "Antigone" is not a very great tragedy, albeit a most brilliant and beautiful dramatic poem. And though he may be right in stating that many of the faults ordinarily supposed to belong to Euripides alone—e.g., the alterations of the characters and the occasional irrelevance of the choral odes—are anticipated by Sophocles, it remains true that Sophocles did not lower the tone of tragedy and that Euripides did. This degradation or decadence was no doubt inevitable; the germs of it may be in Sophocles; yet Aristophanes was not wrong in associating it almost entirely with Euripides. It is indeed clear that the accident of time or the hostility of monks has destroyed some dramas of the two elder tragedians which must have exhibited scenes of very Greek morality; and it may be true that, from a modern point of view, if we still possessed all that Sophocles produced, we should judge him more harshly than the extant specimens justify. But on the evidence of those specimens we hold by the ordinary belief, not by Mr. Mahaffy. He is, we think, carried away by the limpid clearness of the younger dramatist, as indeed were the Athenians themselves, and has hardly sufficient sympathy with that wonderful subtlety of suggestive diction which places Sophocles on a level with the greatest poets, a Virgil or a Goethe. Again, when Mr. Mahaffy, after an interesting criticism of the "Edipus Coloneus," sums up by declaring it "for vigor, for variety, and for poetic beauty" equal to any of Sophocles's plays, and inclines to rank it first of all, the strangeness of the particular verdict is in too direct antagonism to received belief not to make us pause about accepting his generally unfavorable estimate of the poet's genius.

The remark may be taken as applying to a great deal throughout the book: its general soundness of judgment, especially in dealing with the over-destructive criticism of the Germans, is apt to be marred by freaks of individual caprice—such, e.g., as the author's preference of the "Trachiniae" to the "Medea"; his tendency to underrate Thucydides, involving as it does a denial of the great historian's belief in virtue *per se*, and a quotation which we could well spare of Mure's absurd criticism of the famous passage (vii. 71) describing

the emotions of the crowd that watched on land the battle in the harbor of Syracuse (vol. ii. p. 112). To some readers the most objectionable part of Mr. Mahaffy's work will be the two pages on the 'Phædon' of Plato, where he draws a most uncalled-for parallel between the last interview of Socrates with his wife and of Jesus Christ with his mother; and finds a "singular analogy" between Plato's discussion on the immortality of the soul and Mozart's Requiem. It seems to us a very unfortunate circumstance in this analogy that much of the famous Requiem is not certainly, we had almost said is believed to be certainly not, Mozart's. But faults like these are inconsiderable if compared with the far greater merits of the work. Few points on which criticism can be raised are neglected by Mr. Mahaffy, and the discussion on any one is never long enough to become wearisome. Every reader will be grateful, too, for the judicious use of foreign works either little read or not as much as they deserve, such as M. Patin's 'Tragiques Grecs,' or Blass's 'Geschichte der Attischen Beredsamkeit.' Such flaws as the iteration of particular words, e.g., "splendid," or Hibernicisms like "along with" and "except" in the sense of "unless," are the excusable emergencies of haste, and will no doubt be removed in another edition.

Health and Health Resorts. By John Wilson, M.D., late Medical Inspector of Camps and Hospitals, U.S.A. (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1880. 16mo, pp. 288.)—Dr. Wilson's book is chiefly taken up with descriptions of the leading European watering-places—Italian, Swiss, German, and French—while an early chapter on "Expatriation" is given, somewhat contradictorily, to the dispraise of foreign as contrasted with American watering-places. But the patriotic physiologist is in danger of neglecting a great many facts; and when Dr. Wilson claims "equability of temperature," either in winter or summer, for any of our health resorts either on or near the Atlantic coast he claims what observation does not bear out. Those of the Florida Keys, which lie nearly on the inner edge of the Gulf Stream, have, indeed, a climate as equable as that of the Riviera; but the popular health resorts of Florida cannot compare in equability of climate with those of the Mediterranean. Thus, in Jacksonville the monthly ranges or variations of temperature during each of the seven months from May to September, 1874, were 50°, 49°, 46°, 31°, 24°, 34°, and 36° Fahr. respectively, with a maximum of 100°. The climate of St. Augustine, with extremes of 21° and 103° during a period of seven years (we give the Fort Marion observations), showed extremes for the months of January during a term of years of from 21° to 84°, and of 58° to 103° during the month of June. We cite these figures as sufficiently illustrative of our climate's racking changes, and yet they are, if we may use the expression, the most moderate of our extremes; the range of month and season variations increasing as we go northward.

Dr. Wilson writes in apparent ignorance of American climatology. His

account of foreign watering-places has a certain popular value, but is marred by a diffuse and trivial style. It must be added that the book is a museum of misspellings and misprints; we have marked the following within the compass of three pages: Lepey, Comballes, Ormund, Litis, Schiedeck, Remermont, and Guardmer (pp. 126-128).

A Short History of the Norman Conquest of England. By Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. Pp. 156.)—In this little volume Mr. Freeman has given, in his graphic style, a sketch of the Norman Conquest that will serve well as a continuation of his 'Old English History.' It is in no sense, he says, an abridgment of his great work; for example, the period following the Conqueror's reign is dismissed with a single short chapter, quite in contrast to the thick fifth volume which is devoted to this period. But the introductory chapters, narrating the causes of the conquest, are sufficiently full, and the chapter on the results of the conquest is in due proportion. On the whole it seems as if he would have done well to give more space (not much over a page as it is) at least to the Norman kings William II., Henry I., and Stephen; for this is a particularly good part of his larger work, and these reigns would fairly come in with a history of the conquest. The volume would be a very thin one even then. It may be noted that in this volume Mr. Freeman tacitly gives up the contest as to the spelling of Anglo-Saxon names: we have *Edmund, Edward, and Alfred.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Adam and Eve.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Allen (Prof. W. F.), Introduction to Latin Composition.....	(Ginn & Heath)
Arnold (E.), Poems.....	(Roberts Bros.) \$1 00
Chapin (J. H.), The Creation.....	(G. F. Putnam's Sons)
Christlieb (T.), Protestant Foreign Missions.....	(Congregational Pub. Soc.) 1 75
Directory of the Charities of Boston.....	(A. Williams & Co.)
Eggleston (E.) and Seelye (L. E.), Montezuma and the Conquest of Mexico (Dodd, Mead & Co.)	1 25
Guinness (H. G.), The Approaching End of the Age.....	(A. C. Armstrong & Son)
Hale (Dr. Annie M.), Management of Children.....	(Presley Blackiston)
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Hundred Greatest Men of History, vols. I. and II.....	(F. P. Putnam's Sons)
Ingram (J. H.), Edgar Allan Poe, 2 vols.....	(Fords, Howard & Hulbert)
Janney (Lucy N.), Alton-Thorpe: a Novel.....	(John Hogg)
Kenney (H. A.) and Atwood (D.), The Fathers of Wisconsin.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Lincoln (Dr. D. F.), School and Industrial Hygiene.....	(David Atwood)
MacLaren (Rev. A.), The Life of David as Reflected in his Psalms.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 60
McCalman (A. H.), Abridged History of England.....	(Trow's Printing Co.) 1 25
Norton (C. E.), Historical Studies of Church-building in the Middle Ages.....	(Harper & Bros.)
Oswald (F. L.), Summerland Sketches.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 3 00
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Scudler (H. E.), Stories and Romances.....	(Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) 1 25
Smith (Mrs. H. B.), Henry Boynton Smith: His Life and Work.....	(A. C. Armstrong & Son)
Sonhobles, The Oedipus Tyrannus, translated into English verse.....	(Miami Pub. Co.)
Tafel (F. L. and L. H.), English-German and German-English Dictionary.....	(I. Kohler)
Thomson (P. G.), Bibliography of the State of Ohio.....	(Peter G. Thomson)
Thompson (S. D.), Charing the Jury.....	(Wm. H. Stevenson)
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